

M E M O I R S
O F
R U S S I A,

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and MILITARY,

From the Year M DCC XXVII, to M DCC XLIV,

A Period comprehending many remarkable Events.

I N P A R T I C U L A R

The WARS of RUSSIA with TURKEY and SWEDEN.

W I T H

A SUPPLEMENT, containing a SUMMARY ACCOUNT of
the State of the MILITARY, the MARINE, the COM-
MERCE, &c. of that great EMPIRE.

Translated from the ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT of

G E N E R A L M A N S T E I N,

An Officer of Distinction in the Russian Service.

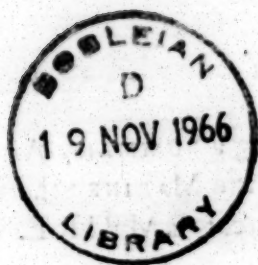
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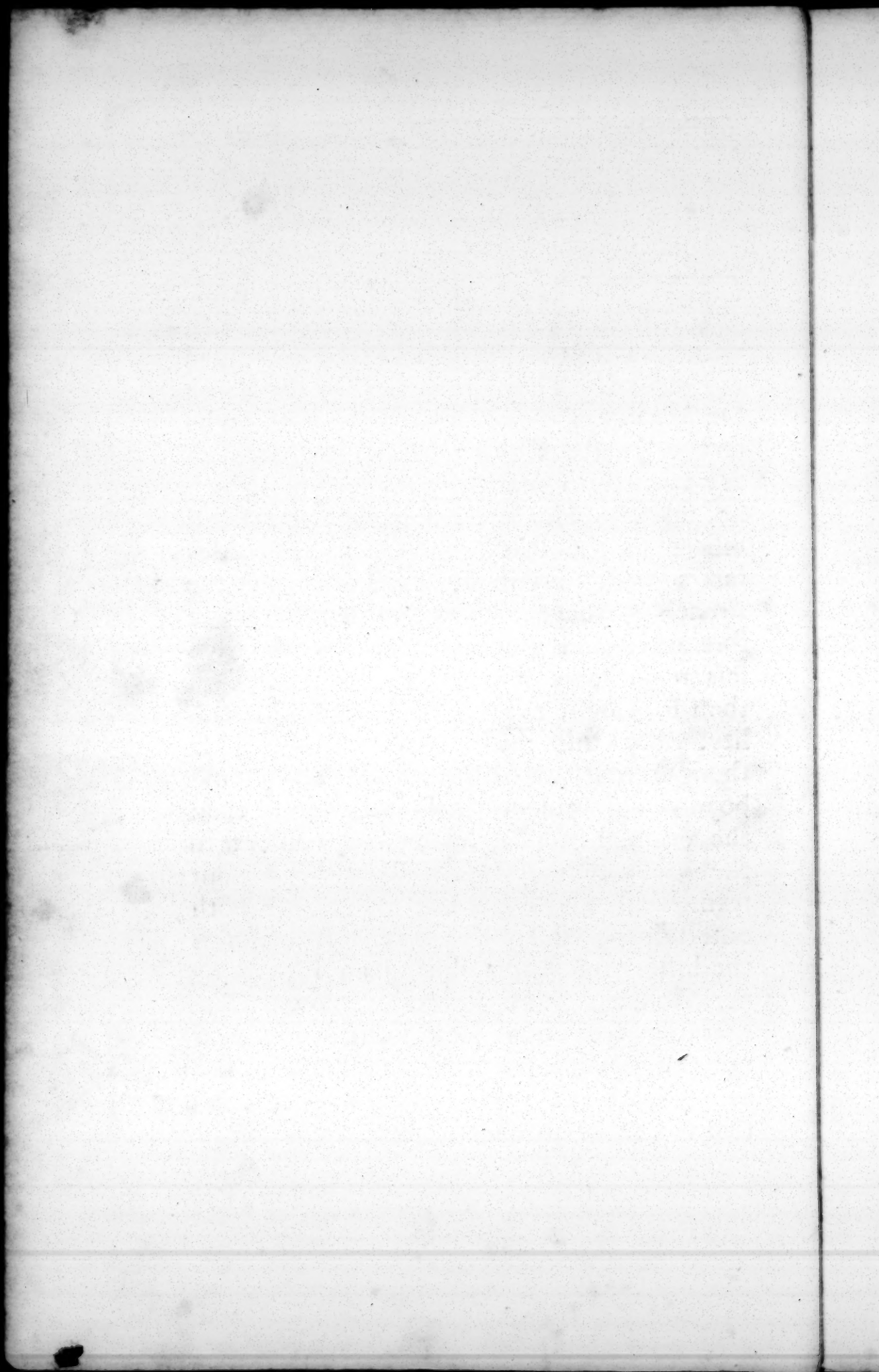


Rev. Am. Holden,

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Memoirs were sent me from Berlin by the Earl Marshal, with a desire that they should be published in England. They are written by the Baron DE MANSTEIN, a German by birth, who served in the Russian army, and was an eye-witness to most of the incidents which he relates. He afterwards died a general officer in the Prussian service. The Memoirs were originally composed in the French language; but as the Author was a foreigner, and a military man, they were less remarkable for elegance of expression than for candour, good-sense, and impartiality. For this reason, as the Bookseller thought that an edition in English would be more agreeable to the British Reader than the original French, I gave my consent to the publication of the work in the present translation, and I hope it will prove both entertaining and instructive. It contains the history of Russia during an interesting period, which is not generally known. The narration breathes a manly spirit, which will not easily evaporate in any translation. And as the work is authentic, it seems well entitled to the attention of the public.

DAVID HUME.



T H E

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Author of these Memoirs served many years in the Russian armies. He made, personally, most of the campaigns of which he has given an account in the following sheets, and was an ocular witness of the great events therein related. As he frequented all the great men, and persons in power, during the whole time that he staid in Russia, he had certainly the greater opportunity of knowing things at their spring-head.

The facts which he relates are known in general to all Europe, but the public has hitherto remained unacquainted of many interesting particulars.

Having quitted Russia, the leisure-time on his hands determined him to commit to writing all that had happened during his service. His first aim was merely amusement, and a communication of the produce of it to some of his friends, who advised him to publish it, and the more, for that having in his narrations adhered to the strictest truth, his Memoirs could not displease the public, nor even the court of which they treat.

All the historians, who have hitherto written of that empire, have not done justice to the Russian nation. Most of them have certainly sinned out of ignorance, having probably never been in the country of which they took on them to write the history. All that they knew of it was furnished to them from the public Gazettes or news-papers.

It

vi THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

It is in this that these Memoirs essentially differ from others ; and this Author treating of nothing but events which happened while he was in the country, did not chuse a continuation beyond that period, though since his departure he had matter enough for such a supplement. Neither did he think it proper to remount to the more remote æras, the Russian history being more obscure and uncertain than any other.

In ancient times, Russia was under the yoke of the Tartars, after her deliverance from which, she remained plunged in barbarism and ignorance, till the reign of Peter I. who used his best endeavours to draw his nation out of that state. Unhappily, that Monarch did not live long enough to see to what a degree he had succeeded in his undertaking.

It will be found in the Supplement, that the Author speaks of some of the ancient Czars, and also of Peter I. But it is precisely no more than what he judged might throw a greater light on certain facts relative to commerce, to the military, or to shew the change of the Russian manners within about these fourscore years.

These Memoirs begin at the death of Catherine, 1727, and finish at the year 1744.

A short

*A short ACCOUNT of the Succession of
the Emperors and Empresses of RUSSIA,
from PETER I.*

The ancient sovereigns of this vast country were stiled Grand Dukes, or Czars, of Muscovy, till the year 1721, when

1. Peter I. justly surnamed the Great, assumed the title of Emperor, which has been given to his successors by all the powers of Europe ever since. He died February 8, 1725, and was succeeded by

2. Catherine I. his second wife, who died May 17, 1727, and was succeeded by

3. Peter II. son of Prince Alexis, and grandson of Peter I. by his first wife; he died of the small-pox, January 29, 1730, aged about 15, and was succeeded by

4. Ann, Duchess of Courland, second daughter of the Czar John I. elder brother of Peter I. who dying October 28, 1740, was succeeded by

5. John II. an infant of six months old, son of Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick, by Ann his wife, daughter of Charles, Duke of Mecklenburgh, and Catherine his wife, eldest daughter of the Czar John I. This young Prince was dethroned December 5, 1741, and was privately put to death since the accession of the present Empress.

6. Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Peter the Great, succeeded, and died January 5, 1762, on whose death

7. Peter

7. Peter III. Duke of Holstein, her nephew, son of her eldest sister, the Princess Ann, succeeded, and was deposed July 9, 1762.

8. Catherine II. his consort, Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, was declared Empress on the deposition of her husband, by whom she has two children living, Paul Petrowitz, born in October 1754, Grand Duke of Russia, and the Princess Ann, born in 1755.

HISTO-

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL,
AND
MILITARY MEMOIRS
OF
RUSSIA.

AS I passed a great part of my life in Russia, and had time to learn sufficiently the Russian manners and language ; having withal been witness to several extraordinary events, the thought occurred to me of writing an account of what has happened remarkable, since the death of the empress Catherine to the present moment. To begin then ;

Catherine, whose ascent to the throne was owing to the affection of Peter I. died on the 16th of May 1727 ; and Peter II. as lawful heir of this vast empire, succeeded in course. This prince was born in 1715, from the marriage of the Czarewitz with the princess of Wolfenbittel. He was but eleven years and a half old at his accession to the crown : upon which consideration, Catherine had, in the second article of her will, ordered that he should be under the tuition of a regency, constituted of the princesses, her daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, of the duke of Holstein, husband of the princess Anne, of the prince of Holstein,

Introduction.

1727.
Beginning
of the
reign of
PETER II.

Holstein, bishop of Lubeck, contracted to marry the princess Elizabeth, and of the members of the council of state, which at that time consisted of six persons, until he had accomplished the age of sixteen. The council of state was composed of the following members; the prince Menzikoff, the high-admiral Apraxin, the high-chancellor count Golowskin, the vice-chancellor count Osterman, the actual privy-counsellors prince Demetrius, Michaëlowitz Gallitzin, and Basilius Loukitz Dolgorucki.

This regency never assembled in a body but one single time, which was on the day that the empress Catherine died, when nothing was done but to ratify the will, which was broke into two hours after: for it was therein expressly ordered, that all affairs should be decided by a plurality of votes. This by no means suited prince Menzikoff, who meant to be sole arbiter and master of affairs, insomuch that the others were only to obey his orders.

Power of
prince
Menzi-
koff.

It was easy for him to succeed in this design, no one daring to oppose whatever he resolved, without risking his ruin. He had immediately, on the death of Peter I. got the whole power into his hands; and, in order to maintain himself in it, he had disposed the empress Catherine to accept one of his daughters for spouse to the Emperor. She had made an article of this in her will, and Menzikoff, to prevent any one's access to the Emperor without his leave, made him be lodged in his own palace from the very day of the decease of the Empress; and this while the duke of Holstein and his ministers were amusing themselves with exultations on the noble stroke they thought they had struck, in making the regency be given them by the will of Catherine, for it was in this light they considered this arrangement. The duchess being at the head of affairs, and having the presidency in the council,

cil, they imagined they should have all the votes of it at their disposal; but Menzikoff, more alert and more dexterous than they, had taken early care to the contrary.

It is in Russia a custom, at every change of reign or of ministry, to set free some prisoners of state. Peter II. not to be wanting in such a point, gave orders for the enlargement of his grandmother, the empress Eudoxia Feodorowna Lapouchin, whom Peter I. had divorced and confined to a convent in 1696: he ordered her a court proportioned to her rank, and invited her to Petersburg. But this princess having too great an aversion against this town, and not finding the ministry pliable enough to give her any share in the government, resolved to remain at Moskow, where she lived in retirement.

The family of the Lapouchins, near relations to that Empress, were also recalled from the exile in which they had been for several years.

These acts of grace had been carried against the inclination of Menzikoff, at the suggestion of some of the members of the high-council, who had found means to soften the young monarch in favor of his grandmother, and of her near relations, and had persuaded him to insist on their release from imprisonment.

Though all this was not very pleasing to Menzikoff, he durst not however openly oppose it, but endeavoured to beset the Emperor, to the exclusion of every one that was not of his creatures; not enjoying a moment's rest, in the fear of having ill offices done him, being sensible that the whole nation detested him.

Some of the great had already, in the precedent reign, entered into a combination against him, and wanted the Empress to remove him from her councils. Those nobles, who had projected

jected this, had been employed by Peter I. in the affair of the Czarewitz, and were afraid of the revenge of Peter II. in case of his coming to the throne, for the ill-treatment which his father had received. They tried then to persuade Catherine to send the young prince to foreign countries to pursue his studies; having resolved, that if the Empress should chance to demise while he was absent, to give him the exclusion, and to raise the duchess of Holstein to the throne.

For this they had taken their time, while Menzikoff was in Courland, to settle every thing; and for fear that he should disconcert their designs on his return, they had undertaken to give the Empress bad impressions of him, in which they so far succeeded, that her majesty had actually signed an order for putting him under an arrest, before he should re-enter Petersburg.

By singular good-luck for Menzikoff, the count of Bassevitz, first minister of the duke of Holstein, had taken it into his head to support this favourite, and easily persuaded his master to it, who entreated of the Empress her forgiveness of him, and obtained it. Menzikoff being returned to the court, was made acquainted with the sinister designs of his enemies against him. He caused a strict research to be made of them, and all the partizans of the house of Holstein were taken up, and severely punished. Menzikoff's own brother-in-law, a Portuguese, called de Vyeira, and the general Pisarew, underwent the knout; their estates were confiscated, and themselves sent to Siberia. An actual privy counsellor, Tolstoy, as well as his son, the general Butterlin, and some others, were also banished to Siberia: the count Alexander Nariskin, and the general Ouschakow, were respectively confined to their estates.

It

It was said that the count de Bassevitz, who, by an over-confidence in prince Menzikoff, had communicated to him the overtures made him by some of the great men of the court, touching their partial dispositions in favour of the dutchesses of Holstein, had furnished Menzikoff with the occasion, of which he instantly availed himself, of breaking all their measures. The others, who still remained attached to the court of Holstein, were extremely intimidated at this; and conceived at the same time, not only a great distrust, but a great contempt for Bassevitz.

But prince Menzikoff was not satisfied with their being punished at that time, and was determined to preserve the memory of it to all Russia, so as to prevent any temptation to hurt him for the future. Accordingly the council of state issued a proclamation, by which solemn warning was given against any such dangerous confederacies, under the penalty of being punished with still greater rigor.

This edict was signed the 6th of June, and on the same day were celebrated the espousals of the young Emperor with the daughter of prince Menzikoff. Her father then imagined himself on the pinnacle of earthly felicity. There remained for him the execution of but one project more, to set him above all danger. He wanted to marry his son to the grand-duchess, Natalia, sister to the Emperor; in virtue of which, he was to transmit the throne of Russia to his posterity. The plan was not ill imagined; but it failed of execution. In the mean while, he got himself declared generalissimo by sea and land.

The duke and duchess of Holstein were now the only personages that gave umbrage to Menzikoff, who was afraid lest the duchess should form a new party, that might oppose his vast designs.

Espousals
of the em-
peror with
the daugh-
ter of
prince
Menzikoff.

Departure
of the
duchess of
Holstein
with the
duke.

Cabals a-
gainst
Menzikoff.

signs. He at the same time imagined, that, after their quitting the field to him, no one would dare to stir. On a sudden then, he ceased to keep any measures with them; so that, throwing in their way every kind of difficulty and disgust, he constrained them, at length, to leave Russia. Their departure, however, did not lessen the number of his enemies: the truth is, that he had drawn upon himself the universal hatred of the nation.

He had taken the precaution to place in attendance about the Emperor none but his own creatures, and such as owed their fortune to him; but as he had directly counteracted and shocked all the antient families, and as, among those whom he could not well debar of access to the Emperor, there were some who saw with pain their relations in exile, they seized an occasion of making the young prince remark, that Menzikoff was exercising a perfect despotism, which he was hoping still more to confirm, by the consummation of the Emperor's marriage with his daughter; that, in short, to judge of him by his ambition, he might take it into his head to attempt ascending the throne. They at the same time earnestly entreated the Emperor to keep their secret, which he promised; and actually did dissemble, till he found a fair occasion for venting his resentment: Menzikoff soon furnished it, by a stroke of terrible giddiness or imprudence.

The company of masons had, I do not justly now remember on what occasion, made a free gift to the Emperor of nine thousand ducats. This prince, having a mind to give his sister the pleasure of this present, sent her that sum by one of his gentlemen; who, being met by Menzikoff, was asked by him, where he was going with that money? The gentleman told him. The other replied, "The Emperor is as yet too young to
" know

“ know how to dispose of money ; carry it to
“ my apartments ; I will take an opportunity to
“ speak to him of it.” The gentleman, who
knew how dangerous it was to oppose the will
of Menzikoff, did not fail of obeying him. The
next day, the princess, sister to the Emperor,
came to pay him a visit, according to custom.
She was no sooner in the room, than he asked
her, if the present he had sent her was not worth
a compliment of thanks. The princess naturally
answering, that she had received nothing, the
Emperor flew into a great passion. The gen-
tleman was called, and being asked by him what
he had done with the money given him to carry
to the princess, was obliged, in his own defence,
to say that Menzikoff had taken it from him.
But this only the more irritated the Emperor,
who ordered Menzikoff to be sent for, and, when
he came, demanded of him, in a great rage, how
he came to have the boldness to hinder his gen-
tleman from executing his orders ? The prince,
who was not used to hear the Emperor speak
to him in that tone, was perfectly thunder-struck.
He answered, however, that it was very well
known that the state was in want of money ;
that the treasure was exhausted, and that he
had proposed that very day to present a project
of the manner in which that sum might be more
usefully employed. He added, “ If, however,
“ your majesty commands it, I will not only cause
“ to be returned the nine thousand ducats, but
“ advance you a million of rubles out of my own
“ purse.”

The Emperor was not pacified with this an-
swer ; but, stamping with his foot, said, “ I will
“ make you know that I am Emperor, and that I
“ will be obeyed.” Then, turning his back upon
him, left him. Menzikoff followed him, and,
at length, with much entreaty, appeased him for
that time ; but this calm did not last long.

A few

A few days afterwards, Menzikoff fell dangerously ill. This gave his enemies time to make sure of his ruin. The princes Dolgorucki, and especially the Knez Iwan, whose great favor was beginning at that time, prevailed so as entirely to alienate from him the mind of their master. Menzikoff was not ignorant of these cabals against him, nor of the decline of his credit; but he hoped soon to recover his former degree of favor, and to over-awe the Emperor by that tone of authority, which he had used to take towards him.

As soon then as Menzikoff was recovered, he committed a fresh fault, in going to his country-house at Oranjenbaum, which was about two miles from Peterhoff, where the court had removed during his illness. He had built a chapel at Oranjenbaum, which he wanted to have consecrated. The Emperor and all his court were invited to assist at the ceremony. But his enemies, who had too much cause to dread his revenge, in case of his reconciliation with the Emperor, persuaded this prince to excuse himself on the day of the ceremony, under pretence of an indisposition. He followed their advice; and yet, for all that, Menzikoff did not apprehend that this betokened his entire disgrace. He had even the imprudence, during the festival, to seat himself on a kind of throne, which had been placed for his majesty. His enemies did not fail of making the most of this circumstance, which contributed to determine his fall.

The same evening, Menzikoff repaired to Peterhoff, where he did not find the Emperor, who had been carried a hunting. He addressed himself to the count Osterman, with whom he had a conversation full of acrimony, and even accompanied with high words. He remained there that day and the next, at Peterhoff; but the Emperor not returning, and all the countenances being frozen to him, he took the resolution of
going

going to Petersburg; probably he thought he should be more formidable in the midst of the court. In fact, being arrived at the capital, far from acting the disgraced courtier, he employed the whole morning in going the round of the colleges, and of giving orders every where. He regulated particularly the reception intended for the emperor in his palace, where he imagined he would continue to lodge; but towards noon, the general Soltikow came, with an order to remove from his palace the Emperor's furniture, and carry it to the imperial summer-palace. This was a thunderstroke to him, at which he lost all presence of mind; but what shocked him the most was, the sending back the goods and furniture of his son, who, in quality of high-chamberlain, was to lodge officially near the emperor. In this confusion of mind he fell into another fault, that of sending into quarters the regiment of Ingermanland, which, for his safety, he had ordered to encamp on the island of Wafili-Ostrow*, at a small distance from his palace. This regiment, of which he had been colonel from the first of its being raised, was entirely devoted to him; and it is certain that he had impressed his enemies with a great awe of him.

In the evening the Emperor returned to Petersburg, and the general Soltikoff was once more employed on a message to Menzikoff, by which he announced to him an order of arrest. His wife and children repaired immediately to the summer-palace, to throw themselves at the feet of the Emperor, but were refused admittance. Mean while, Menzikoff was made to believe, that he would

* *Wafili-Ostrow* is an island which makes part of the town of Petersburg; the Palace of Menzikoff stood there. Peter I. had made him a present of the whole island, but resumed it some time afterwards, in the intention that the whole town of Petersburg should be built there; which however was not executed.

be only deprived of his offices ; that he would nevertheless have all his fortune left him, and that he would be permitted to pass the remainder of his days at Oranjenburgh, a pretty town on the frontiers of the Ukrain, which he had built, and even a little fortified. In fact, the free disposal of his goods and fortune was left to him, while he remained at Petersburg ; and when he went out of it, his train had not in the least the air of a minister in disgrace. He was accompanied by his whole family, and by a great number of domestics ; and in the manner he was treated on the first days of his journey, it did not appear that there was any intention to do him more hurt. But, on his arrival at Tweer, a town situate on the road between Moskow and Petersburg, he there found an order for all his effects to be sealed up, and nothing more to be left him than bare necessities. His guard was doubled, and he was more narrowly watched during the rest of his journey. Scarce was he arrived at Oranjenburgh, when there were sent to him whole reams of complaints made against him for grievances. These were instantly followed by commissaries, who proceeded to his trial. He was condemned to pass the rest of his life at Berosowa, situate on the most distant frontiers of Siberia. His wife, grown blind with weeping, died by the way : the rest of his family followed him into exile. He bore his misfortunes with more firmness than one would have imagined in him ; and from being full of gross humours, with a bad habit of body, he recovered health and plumpness. There were allowed him ten rubles a day ; a sum which not only sufficed him for his wants, but he saved enough out of it to build a church, at which he himself worked, hatchet in hand. He died in November 1729, of a repletion of blood ; because, as it was said, there was not one person to be found at Berosowa who knew how to open a vein.

The

The general opinion on the origin of Menzikoff is, that his father was a peasant, who had placed him, at Moskow, with a pastry cook, and that he carried about little pies, singing along the streets; that the Emperor Peter I. having stopped to speak to him, he had pleased him with the wit and liveliness of his repartees. Upon this he put him servant to Monsieur Le Fort; thence he took him about his own person, and by degrees made his fortune.

Others again say, that his father was an officer in the service of the Czar, Alexis Michaëlowitz, and that as it is not extraordinary to see gentlemen serve in the stables of the Czar, Menzikoff had also been employed in them, in quality of one of the head grooms; that Peter having often spoke to him, had taken notice of the wit and shrewdness of his answers, insomuch that he took him out of the stables, and placed him as a more immediate attendant on himself; when, observing great talents in him, he had, in a few years raised him to the first posts in the empire.

I have always thought the first of these opinions the nearest to the truth; for it is certain, that he was of an obscure birth, and that he began with being a common servant; after which the Emperor placed him as a private soldier in the first company of regular troops, which he raised under the appellation *preprovojdienie* *. Peter I. having thence taken him about his person, gave him his entire confidence, in such a manner, that, on many occasions, Menzikoff governed Russia with the same despotism as his master. His credit had, however, been greatly diminished during the last years of the reign of Peter I. and it is believed, that if that Emperor had lived some months longer, there would have been great changes at court, and in the ministry.

* *Preprovojdienie*, for amusement.

By the following character, any one may decide which preponderated, the good or the bad qualities of Prince Menzikoff.

He was strongly attached to his master, and to the maxims of Peter I. for civilizing the Russian nation; affable and polite towards strangers; that is to say, with such as did not pretend to have more wit than himself; neither did he misbehave to those of the Russians who shewed submission to him. He treated all who were his inferiors with gentleness, never forgetting a service done him. Brave withal, he gave, on occasions of the greatest dangers, incontestable proofs of the necessary personal courage. Wherever he had once taken a friendship, he continued a zealous friend.

On the other hand, he was possessed with a boundless ambition; he could not endure a superior or an equal, and less yet one that he could suspect of pretending to surpass him in understanding. His avarice was insatiable. He was an implacable enemy. He did not want for natural wit; but having had no education, his manners were rather coarse. His avarice had led him into several disagreeable explanations with Peter I. who had sometimes condemned him to pay arbitrary fines: notwithstanding which, there was found, on his imprisonment, the value of three millions of rubles, in jewels, in plate, and ready money.

He had a son and two daughters: she who had been betrothed to the Emperor died, before her father, in exile; the other was married, under the reign of the Empress Anne, with the General Gustavus Biron, brother to the duke of Courland, and died in the beginning of the year 1737. The son is major in the guards. So long as his father was in favour and prosperity, all the world allowed him a great deal of wit, though he was but a child; since the disgrace and death of his father, there

there are few persons in the whole empire of Russia that have less than he.

Menzikoff, who, from the lowest condition, had been raised to the highest stations of life, would have finished his career with honor, if he had not been so infatuated with ambition, as to seek to place his posterity on the throne of Russia. It is the same rock against which all the favorites that followed him have struck, and sunk like him, as will hereafter be shewn.

* Every antient family, on this account, flattered itself with the hopes of getting into this young Prince's favour. The Lapouchins, the Soltikoffs, being near relations to the Emperor, imagined this gave them a right to aspire to the first places, but they were all deceived. The Princes Dolgoroucki, some of whom were more immediately about the Emperor's person, had availed themselves of the moment, and had, as one may say, seized all the avenues to the Emperor's ear. The Knez Iwan, son of the Knez Alexis Dolgoroucki, actual privy-counsellor, and sub-governor to the Emperor, was a young man of a good person and of great vivacity. He had often had the honor of sharing the diversions and entertainments of the young monarch, who took a liking to him, and became so fond of his company, that he could not pass a moment without it. His family did not fail of taking the advantage of the occasion, to place themselves at the head of affairs.

Some time after the exile of Menzikoff, all the families which had been banished into Siberia upon

* It was appointed by the will of Catherine, that Peter II. should be under the tutorship of a regency: but this disposition not suiting the views of Menzikoff, he usurped the whole authority, and governed alone. After his fall, no mention was ever made of the regency; the Emperor resolving to reign of himself.

the

the affair of the Czarewits, were recalled, and their estates were restored to them.

The Emperor goes to Moscow.

The emperor had been desirous of going to Moscow, immediately after the death of Catherine, but had been hindered from it by Menzikoff, who was afraid, that, not being able to keep him shut up there as in his palace at Petersburg, his enemies would find favourable opportunities to contrive and accomplish his ruin.

1728,

Menzikoff being now dispatched out of the way, the journey to this capital was fixed for January 1728; and the court accordingly set out on the 20th from Petersburg; but the Emperor falling ill of the thrush by the way, he was obliged to stop for fifteen days at the town of Tweer, and could not make his public-entry into Moscow till the 15th of February.

Cabals against the Princes Dolgoroucki.

All the other great families saw, with an extreme jealousy, the overgrown power of the Princes Dolgoroucki. They did not however, accomplish their ends of wresting it from them, though they played off several engines for that purpose. On the 7th of April there was found an anonymous letter thrust under one of the gates of Moscow; the superscription of which denoted, that the letter contained many things of the utmost importance to the state. It was found to contain an ample justification of Menzikoff's conduct, and withal, an attempt to inspire a diffidence of the ministers and favourites in place. But this had no other effect than the fixing the more firmly the influence of the Dolgorouckis, and the warning them to be more than ever on their guard.

The Prince Iwan applied himself especially to study the inclinations of his master: he was ever striving to procure him every day new pleasures, and thereby gained the sole and entire confidence of the young Prince, who invested him with the

post

post of high-chamberlain, and gave him the blue ribbon.

On the other hand, this same Prince Dolgoroucki, encreased the number of his enemies, by an overbearing conduct, and by a kind of braving the world in keeping too little measures with it.

The sickness into which the Emperor fell in the month of August following, gave an alarm to the whole empire, it being a violent burning fever. Every one feared for his life. He escaped death, however, for that time. The enemies of the favourite did not fail to impute to him the cause of his disorder: they represented to the Emperor that the Prince made him take too much exercise, while his constitution must naturally sink under it, from his allowing himself too little rest; in short, that if he did not change his manner of life, he would greatly endanger his health.

In the main, those who remonstrated this were in the right. The emperor had a passion for hunting; and instead of persuading him to use moderation in this pleasure, the Prince Alexis, father to the favourite, made him take long courses for a whole day, and even for many days successively, which fatigued and heated him extremely. He had too delicate a constitution to endure the accustoming himself to such great fatigues in so tender an age.

It was nearly about this time that the Cossacks of the Ukrain made some stir. Peter I. had brought them low enough after the revolt of Mazeppa, to hinder them from ever shaking off his dominion, so that not having dared to lift their heads during the life of that Prince, they imagined the time of the ministry of Peter II. would be more favourable, and began to raise commotions; but they were soon reduced to order, by the sending

Commo-
tions of the
Cossacks
of the Uk-
rain.
Some ac-
count of
those peo-
ple.

ing troops against them. Some of the richest, and the most turbulent, were seized, and sent to Siberia: the rest begged mercy, and obtained it; not, however, without having been compelled to send a numerous deputation to Moscow, to implore the imperial mercy. Their Prince, or Hettman, was at the head of it. They were, besides, obliged to leave hostages for the security of their future good behaviour. Since that time, there has been no need of watching them so narrowly. They were so thoroughly subdued after the last war with the Turks, that they cannot for a long time be in any condition of revolt. As probably this nation is not sufficiently known, I shall here give a succinct account of it. There are several kinds of the Cossacks; the most known are those of the Don, the Zaporavian Cossacks, and those of the Ukrain. It is of these last I have just made mention: they inhabit the *Ukrain*, which is also called *Mala Russia*, or *little Russia*, and is unquestionably one of the finest countries in Europe; one half of it belongs to the Emperor of Russia, the other to Poland. The Borysthenes or Dnieper divides this country into two parts, forming at the same time their respective frontiers.

These Cossacks were once a free nation, descending from the same race as the Polanders; but as to their religion, they follow the Greek church. When these people were united, they could bring a hundred and fifty thousand men into the field. They were long under the protection of the republic of Poland, and did great service in its wars against the Turks; but the Polanders attempting to treat them like slaves, they revolted about an hundred years ago, under the conduct of the Hettman Chelmninski, who put himself under the protection of the Turks. Some years after the death of Chelmninski, the successor, Doroschonko, gave himself and country up to Russia.

This

This brought on a war, which terminated in the destruction of Czigrin, at that time the capital of Ukrain. This happened in the year 1674.

For the first years ensuing they preserved all their privileges, and were governed by a Prince of their own chusing among themselves. But the Hettman Mazeppa having taken the part of Charles XII. King of Sweden, Peter I. reduced this restless people to a condition of inability of striving to shake off their yoke.

At present they have no longer any privileges, and are looked upon in the light of a conquered province. Their last Hettman, Apostel, dying in 1734, they were not left at liberty to chuse another, and are actually now governed by a Russian Regency, which resides at Glouchow*. They can absolutely bring two and twenty thousand men into the field. They served in the Russian armies during the last wars against the Turks, without having been good for any thing but to augment the number of their troops. It is not without reason believed, that their pristine valor is totally extinct. In the last campaign they scarce did any other service than that of bringing waggons of provision to the army.

The Zaporavian Cossacks inhabit the islands of *Zaporavian Cossacks.* the Borysthènes, and a small tract of country on the side of Crimea, beyond the cataracts. They are a collection of all nations, mostly however of Polanders, of Russians, and of the Ukrain-Cossacks. They were, formerly, sometimes under the protection of the Turks or Tartars of Crimea,

* These Memoirs were already written, when the Empress Elizabeth restored to the inhabitants of the Ukrain a great part of their antient privileges. She gave them, at the same time, the liberty of chusing a new Hettman, the choice fell on Ririla Rasoumowski, brother of her Majesty's favourite: and in 1751 he went to the Ukrain to take possession of that regency.

sometimes under that of Russia. If I am not mistaken, it was since the year 1734 that they resumed their submission to Russia, having precedently been attached to the Turks since the time of Charles XII.'s recourse to Bender.

Their general, or chief of their republic, has the appellation of Roschowy Hettman. They chuse him among themselves, and for so long a time as pleases them, they pay him a blind obedience; but the moment they are discontented with him, they depose him, without farther ceremony, and chuse another in his place.

It is, however, requisite, since their submission to Russia, that such their election should be always confirmed by the regency of Glouchow; nor is it at all improbable, that the principal motive for their changing so often their Roschowy is, that it is customary for the court to make, on this occasion, a present of seven thousand rubles to the new Roschowy, who commonly shares them among the principal Cossacks, to attach them to him; but very often they do not let him keep his post above a few months, when he is degraded, and becomes again only a private Cossack; many of them have even been massacred, without any other reason but the having incurred the displeasure of the multitude.

In time of war the court pays them pensions, and furnishes them with provisions for the campaign.

They have but one secretary, or rather writer, who dares send or receive letters: if any other was to hold any the least correspondence, he would be put to death without mercy, were it even the Roschowy himself. But, in case of any letter coming, it is carried to the secretary, who reads it in presence of the Elders.

The

The number of troops they can bring into the field is not fixed. In the last war against the Turks, eight thousand of their horse served in the Russian armies; but, on a stretch, with their best efforts, they could raise twelve or fifteen thousand.

Their customs are singular. No Zaporavian Cossack is allowed to be married within the precincts of their territory. If he is married, his wife must live in some neighbouring country, where he resorts to her from time to time; and even this intercourse must be without the knowledge of the Elders: but every one may quit this society when it no longer pleases him, and that without acquainting any one. Another may come and have his name inrolled, without any other ceremony than that of declaring that he will conform to their customs, and submit to their laws. It is for this reason that they can never precisely ascertain the number of their forces. They are divided into different chambers or comradeships; and all who are present in their capital are obliged to dine and sup in their public halls or refectories.

They do not even suffer women to remain at any stranger's that should come among them, and bring any of that sex with them. While the Russians were at war against the Turks, the Zaporavians had received in their capital a garrison of regular troops, which is nothing more than a retrenched village, called Setz. The lieutenant-colonel Glebow, who commanded those troops being unapprised of their custom, had sent for his wife to come to him. No sooner was she arrived, than that all the Cossacks, having assembled for the purpose, surrounded this commanding officer's house, and demanded what women there were in it to be delivered to them, that they might each have their share. Mons. Glebow had a good deal
of

of difficulty to appease them, nor could effect it without sacrificing to them some casks of brandy. He was, however, obliged to send away his lady, for fear of a fresh revolt.

Their manner of punishing is as singular as their manner of living. They are great thieves and robbers; but if any one should offer to steal any the least thing from his comrade, he is tied to a post in the openest public place of the town: a bottle of brandy, a loaf of bread, and a number of stout sticks, are set by his side, when every one that passes has a right to give him as many blows as he pleases, after which he may give the wretch the refreshment of a drop of brandy, and a morsel of bread. The sufferer, at the discretion of the judges, remains thus tied to the post a whole night and day, and often five times twenty-four hours. After which, if he has the good-luck to survive the blows, he is received anew into the society.

The whole republic is merely made up of thieves and vagabonds, who subsist on nothing but rapine, both in peace and war. The Haidamacks, who infest Poland, are no other than these Zaporavian Cossacks. The court of Russia cannot hinder their continual excursions; nay, is even obliged to keep measures with them, for fear of their changing sides.

Cossacks
of the
Don.

The Cossacks of the Don inhabit that tract which is between the river Don, the same as the antient Tanais, and the Donwitz, or Little Don. They have a very good country, several pretty towns, and large villages. Their capital is called Czerkaskoi. They are originally, by descent, all Russian peasants, to whom the yoke of their masters having proved unsufferable, they, little by little, took refuge in this country, where they formed a commonwealth. In process of time they voluntarily put themselves under the protection

of

of the Russian empire, by which they are treated with gentleness and moderation. They are excellent soldiers, and can bring as far as fifteen thousand men into the field. The Russians draw great service from them against the Turks, and Tartars of Cuban. Their general, or chief of their republic, is stiled Voïskowoy Attaman; he is chosen by themselves from among the principal officers of their nation, but he must be confirmed by the court.

I return to the history of the Emperor. He took great delight at Moscow, and seemed even to have no thoughts of returning to Petersburg. The antient Russians were charmed with this disposition; for they sovereignly detest the town of Petersburg, which has cost them the greatest part of their fortunes.

In the beginning of December, the Princess ^{Death of} Natalia fell sick, and died the 14th of that month. ^{the Empe-} All who knew this Princess agree, that she gave ^{ror's sister.} great hopes, and had an understanding much superior to her years. She was not above fourteen years and four months old when she died, and yet had often represented to the Emperor, that he gave himself up too much to pleasure, and that the Dolgoroucki family had usurped to itself the same despotism as had been so much detested in Menzikoff.

But the Emperor, who was too young to govern of himself, and was very well satisfied so that pleasures were procured him, gave no attention to his sister's advice; on the contrary, he delivered himself wholly up to that family. Every thing was left to them. The Emperor frequented none but the Dolgorouckis; and no one even durst approach him without their consent.

It

It had been for a long while a project much at Dolgoroucki's heart, the making a match between the Emperor and his sister, in which he partly succeeded. His sister, the princess Catherine, without being absolutely a beauty, was of a very pretty figure; she was above the middle stature, and very well shaped. She had something languishing in her large blue eyes, and besides, wanted for neither wit nor education. It was this Princess of whom Peter II. became violently in love. The Emperor had made several excursions and hunting parties on the grounds of Dolgoroucki, his favorite, who, giving him one day a breakfast at a country-house which he had near Moscow, had presented his sister to him, and he, from that instant, resolved to marry her.

The Emperor declares his intention to marry the princess Dolgoroucki.

On the 19th of Nov. his Majesty ordered this his intention to be declared in full council. A few days afterwards he made it to be intimated to the foreign ministers, and to all those who attended his court, that he expected their compliments of congratulation on the occasion.

The 30th of the same month, the ceremony of betrothing was solemnized in great form at the palace of Le-Fort, where the Emperor then resided. The Princess was conducted thither in the equipages of the court, and the archbishop of Novogorod pronounced his benediction on the betrothment: after which ceremony, his Majesty and the Princess, his betrothed bride, received anew the compliments of the whole court, and of the foreign ministers.

There were nothing but feasts and rejoicings for the rest of the year 1729, and the beginning of 1730. The Dolgoroucki family now imagined they had surmounted all obstacles, and proposed to have the nuptials consummated in a few days; reckoning thereby to have nothing to fear in fu-

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ture from their enemies and their cabals. But they were deceived in their hopes.

The young Emperor fell sick on the 17th of January, of the small-pox. The ignorance of the physicians, who mistook it for merely a violent fever, and the too ungovernable vivacity of this Prince, were the cause of his death. He would not bear to remain quiet: he opened a window, and the small-pox, which had begun to come out, struck in again, and on the 29th of January (old style) he died in the first of the spring of his youth.

1730.
Sickness
and death
of the
Emperor.

The reign of Peter II. then had lasted but two years and nine months, and though this Prince was so very young when he died, he was nevertheless, regretted by the whole nation. The Russians of the old stock found in him a Prince after their own heart, especially for his having quitted Petersburg, and brought back their residence to Moscow. Even at this instant all Russia pronounces this epoch the happiest that it had known for a century past. There was no compulsion to serve in the army, so that every one could stay at home quietly, enjoy his property, and even improve it. Except a few of the great, who were jealous of the power of the Dolgorouckis, all the rest of the nation were content. Universal joy appeared on every face; the treasury was replenishing, and the town of Moscow was lifting its head again out of the ruin into which Peter I. had precipitated it, by his taste and predilection for Petersburg. There was nothing went amiss but the marine and the army, which would have been entirely ruined if this reign had continued some years more on the same foot.

It would be difficult to define the character of Peter II. on account of his extreme youth. It is generally, however, agreed, that he had a good heart, a great deal of vivacity and penetration,

tration, and an excellent memory. It was enough for him to hear any thing once to retain it; so that, if with so many naturally good qualities he could have profited of the instructions of others, it is likely he would have become a very great Prince.

Peter I. had intrusted his education to a Hungarian, whose name was Sevan, and who had been tutor to the young Counts Nariskin; but this family having been exiled a little before the death of Catherine, Sevan had been obliged to follow them; and the Empress named the Count Osterman first governor, and the Prince Alexis Dolgoroucki sub-governor to the Prince. Osterman was especially appointed to preside over his studies. Of this he acquitted himself with all possible application, that is to say, as much as he was left the master of it, or could spare time from the other affairs collaterally committed to him.

Princess Elizabeth is designed for the Prince of Holstein, who died before the match could take place.

I had forgot to mention, that, in the will of Catherine, there was an article, by which she ordered, that the Princess Elizabeth, her daughter, should be married to the Prince of Holstein, bishop of Lubeck, who had already resided for several months at the court of Petersburg, and that there should be paid to him a dowry of three hundred thousand rubles. But this marriage was prevented by the death of this prince, who, falling sick on the 22d of May, died on the first of June. This was the brother of the Princess of Zebrest, and of the King of Sweden now reigning, consequently own uncle to the present grand-duchess. But, on mention of this designed marriage, I presume it will not be foreign to the purpose to specify two other matches, which it is said, had been on the carpet for the same Princess.

The *first* was, some years before the death of Peter I. with the French King Lewis XV.

There

There are some who assure that the Czar had made the first proposal for this alliance, but that the court of France had eluded it: others say, that the regent and the ministry of France would have readily come into it; that Mons^r. de Campredon, at that time minister at Petersburg, had even received orders to negotiate it; but that several other courts, who would not have found their account in the alliance, had by their management and secret interfering, got it broken off.

The *second* was under the reign of Peter II. proposed to be with the Margrave Charles, Prince of the blood of Prussia; but how this came not to take place, I am not well enough informed to say.

It was also under the reign of Peter II. that the first boats passed the canal of Ladoga. This was the great work which Peter I. had begun, to facilitate the commerce from the center of the empire to the Baltic sea. As I shall have occasion to speak again of this canal, I will subjoin the particulars of it in another place.

During the whole reign of Peter I. Russia was governed by none but Menzikoff and the Princes Dolgoroucki. The first was detested by the whole empire, for his having oppressed the antient families, and carried his ambition beyond all bounds. The Princes Dolgoroucki; who had supplanted and succeeded him in favour and power, inherited also his vices, and their end was more tragical than his.

Cabals of the Prince Dolgoroucki during the illness of the Emperor, and after his death.

The Princes Dolgorouckis were reproached, that they had contrived to hide from all the world the danger of the Emperor's sickness, as long as they possibly could; and that as soon as they found there were no hopes of his recovery, they had framed a will, by which the Princess Catherine,

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who

who had been betrothed to the Emperor, was instituted Empress and Heiress of the Empire; which Will the Prince Iwan had signed, in the name of the Emperor, having been accustomed to sign the name of that Prince during his life, by his order. Accordingly, scarce had Peter II. closed his eyes in death, when the Prince Iwan came out of the chamber, with his drawn sword in his hand, flourishing it, and cryed out, *Long live the Empress Catherine!* but no one joining the cry, he saw that his project was miscarrying; upon which, putting his sword up again in his scabbard, he went home immediately, and burnt the will. There are, however, many who will have it that no such will was ever made, and that it was merely an invention of the enemies of the Dolgorouckis, to accomplish the ruin of that family. But as this was inserted in the manifestoes which were published against these Princes, as one of the principal articles of their guilt, I could not well avoid mentioning it; besides, as to the fact above specified of the Prince Iwan's coming out of the apartment with his sword drawn, it is perfectly true; I had it from a man of great veracity; and even from one of the family itself: it is also certain, that if the Dolgorouckis had not been at variance among themselves, the Princess Catherine would infallibly have mounted the throne, but the disunion that reigned among their chiefs was the destruction of all of them.

Assembly
of the
council,
and elec-
tion of
Anne.

The council of state, the senate, and such of the principal generals of the army as were then at Moscow, assembled immediately after the decease of Peter II. and sat in close committee in a chamber of the Palace of Cremlin. The high-chancellor Golloffkin announced to the assembly the death of the Emperor, and as soon as he had

had done speaking, the Prince Demetrius Mi-
chaëlowitz Gallitzin got up, and said that "*since,*
"*by the demise of Peter II. the whole male line of*
"*Peter I. was extinct, and that Russia had suffered*
"*extremely by despotic power, to the prevalence of*
"*which the great number of foreigners brought in by*
"*Peter I. had greatly contributed, it would be*
"*highly expedient to limit the supreme authority by*
"*salutary laws, and not to confer the imperial*
"*crown on the new Empress that should be chosen,*
"*but under certain conditions;*" concluding with
putting the question to the whole assembly, whe-
ther "*they did not approve this proposal?*" They
all assented to it, without any the least opposition.
Upon which the Prince Basilus Loukitch Dolgo-
roucki proposed the duchess dowager of Cour-
land; alleging, that as the crown was now falling
to a female, it was but just to prefer the daughter
of the Czar Iwan, the elder brother of Peter I.
to those of this Emperor; that though the duch-
ess of Mecklenburgh * was the eldest, it was to
be considered that she was married to a foreign
Prince, whereas the Duchess of Courland was
actually a widow, and, not being above thirty-
six years of age, might marry, and give heirs to
Russia.

The true reason, however, for preferring the
duchess of Courland was, that she being at
Mittau, the remoteness of that place would afford
time for the firmer establishment of the republi-
can system.

All the votes then united in her favor, and it
was agreed, that the council of state, which
was at that time constituted of seven members,
of whom the majority were the Dolgorouckis

* The duchess of Mecklenburgh was then at Moscow,
where she had resided for many years; having in 1719 left
her husband, and returned to Russia.

or their relations, should have the whole power, and the assembly framed the following articles :

Condi-
tions under
which the
Empress
Anne was
chosen.

1st. That the Empress Anne was to reign only, in virtue of the resolves, upon deliberation of the privy council.

2d. That she should not declare war nor make peace on her own authority.

3d. That she would not lay any new tax, or bestow any post or place of consequence.

4th. That she would punish no gentleman with death, unless he was duly convicted of his crime.

5th. That she should not confiscate any one's property.

6th. That she should not alienate or dispose of any lands belonging to the crown.

7th. That she should not marry, nor choose an heir, without asking, upon all these points, the consent of the privy-council.

The assembly then chose three members to notify to the Empress her accession to the throne, and to propose to her the conditions under which she was to reign.

On the part of the council was deputed the Prince Basilus Loukitch Dolgoroucki ; on the part of the senate, the Prince Michael Galitzin ; and on the part of the nobility, the lieutenant-general Leonteu.

In the instructions given to these deputies, it was enjoined to them, to require of the Empress that she should sign the above articles, and that she should not bring her favorite with her to Moscow, Biron, gentleman of the chamber.

Sickness of
the count
Osterman.

The count Osterman, who had not quitted for one moment the Emperor during his illness, retired to his own house, overwhelmed with fatigue, and feigning sickness, that he might not be at the assembly of the council and senate, though

though he was vice-chancellor of the empire. It was by the trick of these sicknesses, occasionally pretended at proper times, that this minister kept his ground so long in this empire.

Notwithstanding these arrangements taken by The Em-
the council of state, the Princess Elizabeth might press Eli-
probably have been Empress, if in the first mo- zabeth
ments she would have followed the advice of her might not
surgeon, since count Lestock. As soon as he had improba-
learnt the death of the Emperor, he entered into bly, at that
the chamber of the Empress, who was asleep, time, have
and waking her, pressed her greatly to assemble ascended
the guards, shew herself to the people, and, going the throne.
directly to the senate, assert her title to the crown.
But she could not be prevailed on to stir out of
her room. Perhaps she had not, at that time,
firmness enough to execute so great an enterprize.
We have since seen her capable of more spirit.
But just then she preferred her amusements to the
glory of reigning; and very certain it is, that if
she had not been molested in the reign of Queen
Anne, she would have continued to prefer the
tranquillity of a private life to the burthen of a
crown.

It is also true, that at that time her party was far from strong: many of the great men of the empire saying publicly, that she was too young to be empress, and to take upon her the necessary cares of government *.

The council of state imagined they had sufficient precaution against the restoration of despotic government, having exacted from the whole army an oath, that it would not serve the Empress

* After this Princess had ascended the throne, talking one day with general Keith, on his telling her, that he much wondered her Majesty had not asserted her right to the crown immediately on the death of Peter II. her answer was, "I am very glad I did not—I was too young, and my people would never have borne with me."

but

but conjointly with the senate. Moreover, before the assembly broke up, they had forbidden, under pain of death, the acquainting the new Empress of any thing that had been debated and resolved. She was not to receive advice of her election, and of the conditions under which she was to mount the throne, but at the first hand from the deputies.

The count Jagouzin-
ski ac-
quaints
the Em-
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solves of
the senate.

Notwithstanding which the lieutenant-general Jagouzinski dispatched that night his aid-de-camp, Mons. Samarokow to Mittau, to apprise the Empress of every thing.

He wrote to her, and entreated her to hasten her departure from Mittau as soon as the deputies should have their audience; to submit to all the conditions that should be required of her; and for the rest, to trust to his counsels: that, in the mean while, until her arrival at Moscow, he would use his best endeavours to encrease the party of such as were not at all pleased at this government by the council of state; that his father-in-law, the high-chancellor Gollowskin, was already on her side, and that after the arrival of her majesty every thing would be terminated to her wish.

Samarokow had a good deal of difficulty to pass, all the roads round the capital being strictly guarded. Every traveller was diligently searched for papers or letters: however, he disguised himself so well, that he got through all undiscovered. But that was not all; he had the same dangers to encounter at the advanced posts on the confines of Courland, who had orders to stop all persons that should come by the way from Moscow. The apprehension of this made him take such a large circuit, that in spite of all obstacles he got safe to Mittau. It is true, he had been necessarily so much retarded in his journey, that he had barely time to deliver his dispatches

to

to the Empress before the deputies arrived and demanded audience.

The Prince Dolgoroucki had, I do not know by what means, discovered that a courier from Moscow had got thither before the deputies, and had admission to the Empress. Upon this he ordered a strict search to be made for him; and finding that he was just set out on his return, he sent to pursue him, and he was accordingly brought back to Mittau. The deputies then ordered him an unmerciful bastonade; made him be put into irons, and carried to Moscow, where the count Jagouzinski was also seized, and thrown into close prison.

There were some who did not spare to accuse the Empress herself of having discovered to the deputies the reasons of Samarokow having been sent to her. I have always doubted of this, and yet it is certain, that, during the whole reign of the Empress Anne, Samarokow was never employed. On the contrary, he was suffered to languish in indigence and misery.

The Empress consented, without making any difficulty, to the signing of whatever the deputies presented to her on the part of the privy-council. She did not even oppose the leaving her favorite behind her at Mittau, and got immediately in readiness to set out for Moscow.

Her majesty came on the 20th of February to a village called Swiaitzki, (or *All Saints*) situate two leagues from Moscow, where she stopped for five days. As soon as she was arrived there, the high-chancellor, at the head of the members of the privy-council, repaired thither, and presented her with the ribbon of St. Andrew, and star, in a gold basin. As soon as the Empress saw it, she said, "*It is true, I had forgot to put the order on;*" and taking it with her own hands out of the basin, she made one of her attendants

Arrival of
the Em-
press at
Moscow.

tendants put it on her, without suffering any of the members of the privy-council to help her on with it; and when the high-chancellor was beginning to harangue her, she stopped him, and prevented his going on.

On the same day, she appointed the prince Soltikoff, a very near relation to the mother of the Empress, lieutenant-colonel of the guards. This was the first act of authority she took upon her since her accession to the throne. The rest of her conduct, after her arrival at Moscow, gave many of the members of the council and senate reason to think that she was satisfied with the restrictions laid on despotic power. She signed anew all that the council of state required, and affected to submit chearfully to all the conditions.

Her secret conduct was very different from this her public one. Her favorite, whom, at the requisition of the council, she had left behind, was arrived at Moscow; and she took all the pains imaginable to form a strong party. She tried to engage the guards, by her liberality to those who daily did duty about her person. In short, she left no arts or managements unemployed towards effectuating her purpose of creating misunderstandings among the members of the council of state. Every thing succeeded to her wish. It had been remarked to them, that the family of the Dolgorouckis, and its connections, would be the only persons that would be benefited by the smallness of the Empress's influence; that they had tied up her hands only to establish the more firmly the power which they had acquired under Peter II.; that there were already of that family many of the members of the privy-council, and of the senate; that, little by little, the number would go on augmenting; and that they ought to reflect on the conduct of that family, after the death of the late Emperor, at which time they

had

had aspired to transmit the imperial crown to their family, in which not having been able to succeed, they had not given up the hope of bringing it about in time, by their circumscription of the supreme power.

Neither was it omitted the instilling a mistrust into the lesser nobility, which is very numerous in Russia, by giving them to understand, that none of them stood any chance of obtaining any preferment of the least consequence, while the counsel of state should have all the power in their hands; as each member would make a point of procuring the most considerable employments for his respective relations and creatures; and that, properly speaking, they would be the slaves of the council: whereas, if the Empress was to be declared sovereign, the least private gentleman might pretend to the first posts of the empire, with the same currency as the first Princes: that there were examples of this under Peter I. when the greatest regard was paid to true merit; and that if that Prince had done acts of severity, he had been obliged to it; besides, that the lesser nobility had no-wise suffered by him; on the contrary, they had recovered their consequence under his reign.

Such hints thrown out, with proper discretion, did not fail of producing the expected effect. The guards, who, even to the private soldiers, are constituted of hardly any but the nobles of the country, formed meetings. Several hundreds of country-gentlemen assembled at the houses of the Princes Troubetzkoi, Boraitinski, and Kzerkasky, as being those in whom they had the greatest confidence, and who were in the interest of the Empress. These did not fail of animating them more and more, till, on the 8th of March, they judged them ripe for the point at which they wanted them. It was then that these Princes, at the head of six hundred gentlemen, went to wait
on

on the Empress; and having obtained an audience, entreated of her to order the council of state and the senate to assemble, for the examination of certain points touching the regency. The Empress having consented, she ordered, at the same time, count Soltikoff, lieutenant-general, and lieutenant-colonel of the guards, to have all the avenues well guarded, and not to permit any one to go out of the palace. The guards were also commanded to have their pieces loaded with ball; and special care was taken to acquaint all those who came to court, of the precautions which had been ordered.

The Empress declares herself absolute sovereign.

While these arrangements were taking, the council of state and the senate were assembled. The Empress gave orders that both these bodies should appear before her. This Princess then having repaired to the presence-chamber, or hall, with the canopy; the count Mattweof, advancing towards her majesty, spoke, and said, That he was deputed by the whole nobility of the empire to represent to her that she had been, by the deputies of the council of state, surprised into the concessions she had made; that Russia having for so many ages been governed by sovereign monarchs, and not by council, all the nobility entreated of her to take into her own hands the reins of government; that all the nation was of the same opinion, and wished that the family of her Majesty might reign over them to the end of time.

The Empress, at this speech, affected great surprize: "How? (said she) was it not then with the will of the whole nation that I signed the act presented to me at Mittau?" Upon which the whole assembly answered, "No." At this she turned towards Prince Dolgoroucki, and said to him, "How came you then, Prince Basilius Loukitch, to impose on me so?" She then

then ordered the high-chancellor to go and bring her the writings which she had signed. This being done, she made him read them with an audible voice; and at each article she stopped him, and asked if such an article was for the good of the nation. The assembly having to all and each of them constantly answered "No;" she took the deeds out of the hands of the high-chancellor, and tore them, saying, "*These writings then are not necessary.*" She declared at the same time, "That as the Empire of Russia had *never been governed but by one sole monarch*, she claimed the same prerogatives as her ancestors had had, from whom she derived her crown by right of inheritance, and not from the election of the council of state, as they had pretended; and that whoever should oppose her sovereignty should be punished, as guilty of high-treason." This declaration was received with applause, and nothing was heard all over the town but acclamations and shouts of joy.

The Empress also gave assurance, "That though she had taken the supreme power into her own hands, she should nevertheless make it her care to govern with all imaginable mildness; that she would have nothing more at heart than the happiness of her people; that she would constantly avail herself of the good counsels of her senate, composed of persons of the greatest experience and the most acknowledged probity; and that she should never have recourse to acts of rigor, unless in the utmost extremity."

To secure her then against any enterprises of the disaffected, there were guards posted in all the streets; the troops took afresh the oath of allegiance; and couriers were dispatched into all the provinces, with the notification of the Em-

Empress having taken on her the supreme authority.

The lesser nobility, and the common people, who had dreaded the government by a council of state, rejoiced much at this alteration of things : but the evening after that this affair had been decided, there was observed an Aurora Borealis, which overspreading the whole horizon, made it appear all in blood. This phenomenon made such an impression on the superstitious people, as to create a general terror ; and in the sequence of time the Russians pretended that this presage was but too fatally verified, by the streams of blood which Biron caused to be shed in that country.

The consternation of the members of the council, and especially of the Dolgorouckis, was extreme, when they were summoned to appear before the Empress. Prince Demetrius Michaëlowitz Galitzin was the only one of them who preserved serenity of countenance, with even some disdain. He said to some of his friends, "*Well! the feast was prepared, but the guests were not worthy of it; I know I shall be the victim of this. Be it so. It is for my country I shall suffer. I feel the end of my career; but those who make me now mourn, will have longer cause to mourn than I.*"

There were four capital faults the republican party were reproached with :

First, Their not having brought into their interest the clergy, who, by strengthening their system with the ecclesiastical malediction to their opponents, a ceremony of which the Russians stand incomparably more in awe than of an oath, would have given a consistence to them not easily to have been overcome.

Second, The not having dispersed the guards, so as to have had the duty done at court by the field-regiments in turn.

Third,

Third, The not having taken off the head of Jagouzinski; as such a resolute measure would have struck terror into every one.

Fourth, The not having sent back Biron immediately when Anne had, contrary to her word given to the deputies at Mittau, sent for him to Moscow.

As to the *first* point, the prince Demetrius Galitzin rejected it. He knew and feared the clergy too much, and did not chuse to be emancipated from 'one slavery to enter into another. He was, besides, in hopes to do without it.

As to the *second*, the marshal Galitzin and the marshal Dolgoroucki opposed it, because they commanded those regiments of guards.

From the *third* they abstained, for the sake of keeping measures with the high-chancellor, count Golloff kin.

From the *fourth*, out of mere weakness.

Yet it is certain that one or two strokes of vigor would have made such an impression, that not a soul would have dared to make the least motion, especially if the members of the council of state had been united.

The first thing that the Empress did after having declared herself supreme in government, was, to release the count Jagouzinski from the prison in which he had been shut up by order of the council: he was not, however, immediately restored to his employments; it was not till some time after that the Empress restored them to him, at the solicitation of the count Lowenvold, as will hereafter be shewn.

Anne being now absolute sovereign, and every thing quiet in the capital, the count Osterman thought it time to be entirely cured of his convenient disorder. His eyes, which had been out of order, now saw clearer than ever, and he felt himself in a condition to do any service that should

The count Jagouzinski is released.

Count Osterman restored to office.

should be required of him. In the character of an able politician, he had taken special care to avoid being present at the deliberations of the council of state and of the senate, after the death of Peter II. The Empress being arrived at Moscow, it was to him she applied for his forming the plan of management that was to give her the sovereignty. Osterman came into her design, and, all sick as he was, directed affairs so well, that they took that favourable turn for Anne, which has been above set forth. Mons. de Korf, who has been since minister at Copenhagen, was the person who carried all the necessary advices to Biron, and the secretary of the chancery. Criponoff, being in the confidence of what was in agitation, informed the high-chancellor of every thing. With this service it was that Osterman obtained the thorough favor and trust of the Empress, which he preserved during her whole reign.

The Empress establishes a council.

Anne, naturally enough, was not pleased with the council of state appointed by the Empress Catherine, since most of its members had been for curtailing the sovereign prerogative; and the council itself had, under the reigns of Catherine and of Peter II. acquired an overgrown power, which was easy enough for it to do, both Catherine and Peter being glad to be eased of the burthen of government, provided they were left at liberty to give themselves up entirely to their pleasures. Besides, Peter II. had not yet attained to the competent age for governing of himself so vast an empire. It was not so with the Empress Anne: she insisted on the communication of all affairs, and on seeing every thing with her own eyes, or rather those of the favorite. She broke then the old council, and created a new one in its place, under the title of the cabinet-council; and the general direction of affairs was committed to it; nothing of any consequence was to be resolved without

without its consent. It was composed of three members, the high-chancellor, count Golloffkin, the vice-chancellor, count Osterman, and the actual privy-counsellor Prince Ctzerkaskoi.

In the speech which the Empress made when she assumed the absolute sovereignty, she had, it is true, promised to govern her states with mildness, and not to recur to rigorous punishments, unless in the last extremities; she could not, however, forget, that the Princes Dolgorouckis had dared to aspire to the placing a princess of their blood on the throne; and that, finding they could not bring that project to bear, they had employed all their arts to overturn the despotic power, and to remain in place, so as still to govern under another title.

The Princes Dolgoroucki are taken up.

All the Princes Dolgoroucki, who had been concerned in the schemes of the council of state, were seized at one and the same time. Their trial proceeded. They were accused of various crimes; among others, of having diverted the Emperor from his study of sciences worthy of him, and from acquiring the knowledge necessary for reigning; of having ruined his health by over-frequent parties of hunting, and consequently of having caused the premature death of that Prince. It was also added, that, in order to accomplish their ambitious ends, they had projected to marry the Emperor to a Princess of their family, before he was of sufficient age; and that they had bestowed the greatest offices in the state on their relations and creatures, &c.

The Empress for this time, pardoned their lives. The Princess betrothed to the Emperor was shut up in a convent. The Prince Iwan, who had been high-chamberlain, and favorite, were, together with his father, his uncle, and in general all their nearest relations, banished; some to their estates, others to Beresowa, or to other the remotest places in Siberia; with a prohibition

to

to hold any correspondence with them without the exprefs leave of the court.

The marshal Dolgoroucki, and his brother the privy-counsellor, were not immediately involved in this disgrace: but some time after, the marshal having spoken a little too freely, he was feized, and carried prisoner to the fortrefs of Swangorod near Narva. Neither did his brother keep his ground: a few years afterwards he was alfo taken up, and sent to Schluselburgh; and both remained under confinement till the acceffion of the Emprefs Elizabeth to the throne.

The cabinet council iffued an order, by which it was forbidden to give any preferment in the military to any of the family of the Dolgorouckis, without an exprefs appointment of the court. And here I fhall anticipate events, to give the reader, in the more compact view, an account of their catastrophe.

Tragical
end of
the Dol-
gorouckis.

This unfortunate family had remained near eight years quiet in its exile, when the Emprefs took it into her head to employ fome of them in her fervice. The Prince Sergius Grigoriwitz had already been employed in feveral embaffies to France, to Vienna, and to London. He had been recalled from exile to Petersburgh, with a view to fend him to England. On the eve of his departure, fome fecret enemy ftirred up anew a profecution againft him and his whole family. Inftead of fetting out on his journey, he was feized and fent to Novogorod, where there were alfo brought the reft of his family. The charge was renewed againft them of their having framed a falfe Will in the name of the Emperor, in favor of the Princefs Catherine; adding withal, that though they had not produced it in the council of ftate, or in the fenate, fuch a will afforded however a proof of their bad intentions; and that, notwithstanding their exile, they had

found

found means to keep up dangerous correspondence in foreign countries, &c.

Their trial proceeded; the issue of which was, that the Princes Basilus and Iwan (he who had been the favorite) were broke on the wheel, two others were quartered, and two or three more were punished with some other kinds of death.

The contradictory alternative of their recall, and of their being put to death, will here doubtless appear something very singular and strange: I will endeavour to account for this as near as I can. So long as the family of the Dolgorouckis were kept remote from all affairs or employment, their enemies did not stir against them; but so soon as the Empress recalled one of them, it alarmed their fears, lest this family should rise again from its fall, and gather strength enough to replace itself at the head of affairs. This induced them to exert their utmost efforts to destroy them, and they succeeded, as has been shewn. It is pretended, that it was Mr. Walinski who the most contributed to their ruin: but the true reason is only to be found in the bad heart of Biron, who could never forgive them their having required of the Empress to leave him behind at Mittau; and he was, besides, afraid of their throwing obstacles in the way of the vast designs which he had conceived on his being declared duke of Courland.

The family of the princes Gallitzin, near relations and allies to that of Dolgoroucki, suffered also by the fall of this last. At first, indeed, none of them were sent into exile, they were only debarred the court, and from any share of affairs; having governments given them on the side of Casan and in Siberia. Nor did this family ever recover its footing during the whole reign of the Empress Anne.

D

After

Coronati-
on of the
Empress.

After that every thing had resumed the usual tranquillity, the Empress made herself be crowned the 28th of April (old stile) in the cathedral church of Moscow, and the archbishop of Novogorod, as metropolitan of the Russian empire, performed the ceremonies of the coronation.

Prefer-
ment of
Biron.
Account
of his fa-
mily.

Biron, who had served many years in quality of gentleman of the chamber, while the Empress was duchess of Courland, was declared count, and had the blue ribbon, and withal the place of high-chamberlain, vacant by the exile of prince Iwan Dolgoroucki.

Now, as this same Biron has long acted so very great a part at the court of Petersburg, it may not be improper to give the reader some knowledge of him.

His grandfather, whose proper name was *Bieren*, was head-groom of the stables to the duke James III. of Courland; and as he attended him every where, found means to acquire his favour, insomuch that, by way of gratuity, he gave him a farm in free-gift. This *Bieren* had two sons, of which one entering into the service of Poland, began with carrying a musket, and got to be promoted to the rank of general.

The other, father of the Biron of whom I have been just speaking, remained in the service of Courland, and followed the duke Alexander, the youngest of the duke's sons, when he went to Hungary in 1686. The prince was wounded before Buda, and died of his wounds. *Bieren*, who had followed him, in quality of his groom of the horse, with the title besides of lieutenant, brought back his equipages to Courland, where they gave him the employ of a master-huntsman, so that what with that, and the small inheritance of his father, he was in tolerably easy circumstances.

He

He had three sons ; the eldest of them, Charles, began by serving in Russia, where he was advanced to the rank of an officer, and was taken prisoner by the Swedes, in an action with the Russians. Having found means to escape out of confinement, he went to Poland, engaged in the service, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He afterwards returned to the service of Russia, where, in a very few years, he became a general officer. He was the most brutal of all men ; and was maimed and marked with the number of wounds which he had received in various scrapes, into which his drunkenness and quarrellousness had brought him. At length, in Russia, every one dreaded him, and avoided having any thing to say to him, since his brother was become the favorite, and omnipotent in the government.

The second son was Ernestus John, who rose to the dignity of duke of Courland, of whom I shall presently treat more at large.

The third son Gustavus, was also a general officer in the Russian service. He had begun with serving in Poland. The empress Anne being seated on the throne, sent for him, and appointed him major of a new-raised regiment of guards. As he was brother to the favorite, he could easily obtain promotion. He was a very honest man, but without education, and of no understanding.

I return to the second brother : He had been for some time at the academy of Koningsberg in Russia, when he was obliged to leave it, to avoid being arrested for some bad affairs he had had in Courland. Finding that he could not subsist without service, he went in 1714 to Petersburg, and solicited a gentleman's place at the court of the Princess, spouse to the Czarewitz. It was then thought an impertinent presumption that one of

so low a birth should pretend to such a post. He was not only rejected with contempt, but advised to make the best of his way instantly out of Petersburg. At his return to Mittau, he made an acquaintance with Bestucheff, (father of the high-chancellor) who was then master of the household at the court of the duchess of Courland. Soon he got into her good graces, and had a place of gentleman of the chamber. He was scarce settled in it, before he fell to work at the ruin of his benefactor; in which he succeeded so well, that the duchess not only forbid him her court, but persecuted him as much as she could, and sent De Korf expressly to Moscow, to carry on a suit against him.

This Bieren, as to his person, was very handsome, and soon got deep into the favor of the duchess, who took such delight in his company, that she made him her confident.

The nobility of Courland conceived a great jealousy against this new favorite: some carried it to such a length, that they laid out for occasions to pick quarrels with him. As then he stood in need of a support among the nobility, he sought the alliance of some antient family. He met with several refusals; at length he prevailed over mademoiselle de Treiden, maid of honour to the duchess, and married her, even before he had got the consent of her friends. By this marriage he hoped to gain admission into the body of the nobility: he solicited it, and was harshly refused.

The ministry of Russia did not more like him than the nobility of Courland. The scurvy trick he had played Bestucheff had set the whole world against him, so that he was detested and despised at Moscow. This arose to such a pitch, that when, a little while before the death of Peter II. De Korf solicited an augmentation of pension for the duchess, the ministers of the council of state de-

declared to him frankly, and without any mincing of the matter, that every thing should be done for her Highness, but that they would not have Bieren dispose of it. On the Emperor's demise, Anne being elected Empress, one of the proposals made to her by the deputies at Mittau was, as already related, that she should leave her favourite behind her there. She consented, but he presently followed her. After she had declared herself absolute sovereign, she made him her chamberlain, and, on the day of her coronation, he was raised to the honours above mentioned.

The duke Ferdinand of Courland, and last of the house of Kettler, being dead, he managed so successfully, by his arts and cabals, that he was elected Duke, and consequently became the sovereign of a country, of which the nobility had, but a few years before, refused to admit him into their body.

When he began to advance himself in the career of fortune, he took the name and arms of the dukes of *Biron* in France. This man it is who, during the whole life of the Empress Anne, and some weeks after her death, reigned with perfect despotism over the vast Empire of Russia. He had no sort of learning, nor yet any education, except what he took of himself. He had not that kind of wit that gives the power of pleasing in society on conversation; but he was not, however, destitute of a certain degree of natural good sense, though there are some that aver the contrary. It is not without reason that the proverb might be applied to him, "that affairs form men;" for, before his arrival in Russia, he had not, perhaps, so much as heard of the name of politics; whereas, after having resided there some years, he knew perfectly well all that related to that empire. The first two years, he made as if he meddled with nothing, but at length he took a taste for business, and governed every thing.

He

He loved to excess pomps and magnificence, and had especially a great fancy for horses. The minister of the Emperor, count Ostein, who detested him, used to say, when the count Biron talks of horses he speaks like a man, but when he speaks of men, or to men, he speaks as a horse would do.

His temper was none of the best: he was haughty and ambitious beyond all bounds; abrupt, and even brutal; avaricious, an implacable enemy, and cruel in his punishments. He took a great deal of pains to learn to dissemble, but could never attain any degree of perfection in it, comparable to that of count Osterman, who was master of the art.

After so long a digression, it is time I should resume the thread of my history.

The horse guards broke, and two new regiments of guards raised, the one horse, the other foot.

The body of horse-guard, which Peter I. had instituted at the coronation of Catherine, was broke by the empress Anne. In place of them, she raised a regiment of horse-guards, of which the greatest part of the officers were taken out of the old body, and the King of Prussia sent several officers and subalterns to introduce the Prussian exercise. She also, for the augmentation of the foot guards, raised a new regiment of three battalions, to which she gave the name of Ishmaëlow, (from that of a country seat situate near Moscow) and made count Lowenwolde colonel of it, Keith lieutenant-colonel, and Gustavus Biron major. The greatest part of the officers were chosen from among the foreigners, and from among the Livonian nobility. These two regiments of guards were raised as checks upon the old ones, and to overawe the people from any sedition or insurrection.

Death of the marshal Galitzin.

In the month of December, Russia lost the best general it had ever had of its own nation. This was the marshal Prince Galitzin, who died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was a man of a great

great deal of merit, and who, upon all occasions, had given the greatest proofs of his courage and capacity in the military art. It was he that gained the battle of Lesna over the Swedes.

The count Jagouzinski, of whom I have above made mention, had hoped, that, after the service he had done to the Empress, he would be more favorably distinguished than the rest of the Empire. So far from this, he was left for some time without having his employments restored to him, and he would have been still longer neglected, if he had not engaged the count Lowenwolde to use his interest for him, on the occasion of the following affair. Peter I. had, at the peace of Nystadt with Sweden, confirmed the privileges of the Livonians, under, however, this clause of limitation; "so far as they should be compatible with the system of government:" a clause which had also been inserted in the diplomas of his successors. As soon as Anne was on the throne, the master of the horse, Lowenwolde, who was in high esteem with the Empress, tried to avail himself of this favor, to free his country from this restriction. But the count Osterman, as a faithful minister, opposed this: upon which Jagouzinski seized this occasion, and insinuated to Lowenwolde, that if he was restored to his former post of attorney-general to the senate, he would undertake to terminate the affair to his satisfaction. The master of horse easily enough obtained from the Empress the re-establishment of Jagouzinski, who, on his part, kept his word with him, and procured the signature to the privileges of Livonia. This affair being thus happily ended, Jagouzinski, who had been one of the great favorites of Peter I. imagined that he might exercise his function of office on the same foot as he had done under the reign of that Prince, when he had, in the senate, almost as much authority as the Emperor

Misunder-
standing
between
the count
Jagouzin-
ski and Bi-
ron.

Emperor himself. But the cabinet-council not approving this, stopped his proceeding, not without some rather sharp animadversions on him. At this he was touched to the quick, and as he believed that the count Biron had contributed to this treatment; who, according to him, had not personally paid deference enough to him, he was highly incensed against this favorite, and did not fail to speak ill enough of him on several occasions. But not thinking himself revenged enough by what he said of him behind his back, he was resolved to go farther. Happening then, one day, to dine at the count Biron's, he could not refrain his resentment; and having drank rather too freely, gave him some coarse language, insomuch that a violent quarrel ensued, and Jagouzinski even laid his hand on his sword, against the very man at whose table he was. They were separated, and he was carried home.

Any but Jagouzinski would have passed his time very indifferently in consequence of such an adventure; but the Empress, unwilling so soon to forget the services he had done her, after having reprimanded him for his fault, sent him as her minister to Berlin, by way of removing him from her court, and of pacifying the chamberlain during his absence.

Some years afterwards, the high-chancellor, count Golloffkin, being deceased, Jagouzinski was recalled, and placed in the cabinet.

The count Biron, who, at that time, had some discontent against count Osterman, was reconciled to Jagouzinski, in order to counterbalance the influence of the other; for these two ministers had never been great friends. Their animosity had taken its rise from the congress of Nyftadt. When Peter I. in 1721, sent thither the count Osterman, he recommended to him, in his instructions, to insist on the cession of Wybourg, but not so far as
to

to break off the conferences thereon. Osterman, who was sensible of the importance of this place, did not fail of incessantly representing, in all his letters and reports, the necessity of preserving it; offering, withal, to answer with his head for the compliance of the Swedes at the last extremity. It is pretended, that he had sure notions of this, through the treason of a Swedish minister, who sold the secret for eighty thousand rubles. And, in fact, the instruction of these Swedish plenipotentiaries, on this point, were precisely the same as those of Osterman; that is to say, not to break off the treaty. Osterman, who knew his master's turn of mind, and the passionate desire of Jagouzinski to make a figure at the congress, was afraid that he would avail himself of the impatience that Peter I. had to get out of the war, to induce him to relax on this article. Judging then that, in such case, Jagouzinski would be himself, in person, the bearer of the ultimatum to the congress, he concerted his measures with general Schowalow, commandant of Wybourg, and his intimate friend, of whom he desired, that if it should happen that Jagouzinski passed that way, he would contrive to entertain and stop him as long as he possibly could, and dispatch to him an express. The thing happened just as he had foreseen it. Jagouzinski, incapable of refusing a party of drinking and merriment, suffered himself to be detained for two whole days together. Osterman, receiving timely advice of this from Schowalow, availed himself of the other's imprudence, and acquainted the Swedes, that he had just then received an order to conclude within twenty-four hours, or to break off the conferences. The artifice succeeded; the Swedes reduced to that extremity, granted the cession of Wybourg, and the treaty was concluded and signed before the arrival of Jagouzinski. This was a thunderstroke to him, the more sensible, for that he durst not complain

complain, which exasperated him the more, inso-
much that he never forgave Osterman this stroke.
This justice, however, must be done him, that
after his being admitted minister of the cabinet,
he lived, at least to all appearance, on tolerable
good terms with Osterman. This too might be
partly owing to the state of bodily infirmity to
which they were both reduced, and which hinder-
ed their meeting over a bottle. For otherwise no
consideration on earth could bridle the impetuosity
of Jagouzinski, when he had got a glass too much
in his head.

1731.

In the beginning of the year 1731, the Prince
Don Manuel of Portugal arrived at Moscow, in
the intention of marrying the Empress Anne. It
was the count Wratislaw, minister of the Empe-
ror, that had framed this project, and had previ-
ously engaged him to go to Vienna, where the
proposal was greatly approved and encouraged by
the imperial court, who sent that Prince to Russia.
There he was received with all the distinction and
all the honors possible; but there was not so much
as the mention suffered of this match. He re-
turned to Vienna, after having staid some months
at Moscow.



The count Biron could by no means relish this
project of count Wratislaw, and for some months
behaved very coolly to him. Happily the court
of Russia did not at that time stand in need of any
assistance from Vienna: for certainly it would have
been refused, since the favorite was not in its
interests. Things however soon changed aspect;
and, during the reign of Anne, the ministry of
Vienna had a very great influence in all the affairs
of Russia.

The Em-
press
Anne em-
braces the
Russian
religion.

The Empress though of an age to marry again,
would not, however, hear of it, and yet had a
mind in her life-time to choose her successor. The
first step she took towards this was, to adopt her
niece, daughter of Charles Leopold, duke of
Meck-

Mecklenburgh, and of her sister Catherine Iwanowna. This princess abjured in form the protestant religion, and took the name of Anne, in lieu of that of Catherine given her at baptism. She was then but twelve years old, and yet the Empress would choose her out a husband. She first cast her eyes on the house of Prussia; the Margrave Charles was designed for her. A negotiation was entered into, and the affair already far advanced, when the marshal Seckendorf, who at that time resided at Berlin, in quality of minister to the Emperor, acquainted his court of it, who took umbrage, and gave him instructions to use his utmost endeavours to thwart the alliance in agitation. Upon this, so many engines were set to work, that every thing was broken off; and there was from the court of Vienna proposed, the Prince Anthony Ulrick of Brunswick Lunenburgh, nephew of the Empress of the Romans, for the Princess Anne. He was accepted, and this Prince came in 1733 to Petersburg. Such were then all appearances in his favor, that, one would have imagined, on his undertaking this journey, fortune was opening her arms to him, so as to place him on the pinnacle of happiness; but time has shewn, that he arrived only for his own misfortune, and that of many others.

Towards the end of the year 1731, an oath Oath relative to the was imposed on the whole nation, to acknowledge succession. for successor whomsoever the Empress should name. Anne took this measure in imitation of Peter I. who in 1722, had done the same, but the sequel will shew us, that these oaths could not prevent revolutions. On this occasion, all the regiments that were at Moscow were assembled at night, and posted in the streets. At the same time the guns were pointed, to obviate any stir or commotion on this occasion.

It was much about this time that the Empress had a great mind to shut up in a convent the Princess

Princess Elizabeth, to deprive her of any hopes of ever ascending the throne of Russia, and to fix the crown the firmer on the head of such successor as she should appoint. Anne was, and not without reason, afraid that the order of succession she should establish, would not hold good while there remained at court a Princess, daughter of Peter I. whom the contrary party might oppose to the successor she should name. Count Biron interceded for her, and obtained her liberty, otherwise she would have been compelled to take the veil.

1732. In the month of January 1732, the court quitted
The court leaves Moscow, and comes to Petersburg. Moscow, and comes to Petersburg. In the month of January 1732, the court quitted Moscow, and came to Petersburg. The winter-season was chosen for this removal, because journeys in summer are extremely incommodious, on account of the great marshes of this country, and of the gnats. In winter one may go from Moscow to Petersburg, which is more than two hundred French leagues, very easily in thrice twenty-four hours, in sledges. Nor is there, perhaps a country in the world where the posts are better regulated, or at a cheaper rate, than on the road between these two principal towns. Elsewhere you commonly give the postilions something to drink to quicken their pace, but between Moscow and Petersburg you must give them something to make them go slower.

Acts of severity of the Empress.

Some days before her departure, she pitched upon the lieutenant-general Romanzow, to put him at the head of the revenue; but this officer, who had always served in the army, begged to be excused, saying, that so long as her M. would employ him in the military, he would serve her with pleasure, but that he was obliged to confess to her his want of capacity for the service of the pen. The Empress was piqued at this refusal, and obliged Romanzow to resign his posts of lieutenant-general, and lieutenant-colonel of the guards; his red ribbon of St. Alexander was taken away, and he was banished to one of his estates on the

side

side of Casan. In 1735, he was recalled from his exile; the Empress restored to him the ribbon, and named him governor of Casan. The next year he had the government of the Ukraine; and in 1737, 1738, 1739, he made, as will be hereafter shewn, the campaigns against the Turks under marshal Munich.

The exile of Romanzow reminds me here of two persons, who, much about that time, had the like fate.

The first was the counsellor of state, De Fick, whom Peter I. had, in 1716, sent to Sweden, to acquaint himself of many things relative to the government of that country. For at that time the Emperor had determined to introduce into his dominions the same regulations as to the policy and oeconomy of the revenue as were practised in Sweden. But the Swedish institutions not being compatible with those of Russia, Peter II. abandoned that project some years afterwards. De Fick, however, had, during his stay in Sweden, contracted a taste for the republican government; and when, after the death of Peter II. the council of state proceeded on the plan of limiting the royal authority, he sought to make himself serviceable to it, and had accordingly entered into a strict connection with the Prince Demetrius Galitzin, on the foot of suggesting counsels to him for the more firmly establishing the new system. The Empress Anne having declared herself absolute sovereign, this connexion was discovered, and as he had, at the same time, had the indiscretion to speak with too much liberty of her favorite, he was taken up, and, without having been examined on any one article, was sent to Siberia, where he remained till the Empress Elizabeth mounted the throne.

The other sufferer was the admiral Sivers, one who understood well the marine. An overprecaution in him was the cause of his misfortune. I have

have above observed, that the council of state had required of every one an oath of not serving the Empress unless conjointly with the council. When this Princess took the sovereignty into her own hands, an ordinance was issued for taking a new oath. The courier who had been sent for the admiralty not getting to Petersburg at the same time that the one did who had been dispatched to the college of war, De Sivers made a difficulty of tendering the oath to the fleet, as he wanted to be assured of all that had passed at Moscow. But, as soon as he had received the orders for which he had waited, he submitted to all that was required of him. Now, though there was nothing reprehensible in this conduct, there were nevertheless, people, who succeeded in traducing him to the Empress, whom they set against him, by a malignant misconstruction of his precautions, as if they had been marks of a contempt for her orders, and a formal disobedience. On this he was disgraced, and had an order sent him to leave Petersburg in four hours. His pension was taken from him, and he was banished to a small estate he had in Finland, where he died miserably, after ten years exile. He had two sons, of which one was serving in the navy, the other in the army. They were both dismissed. Count Munich is accused of having caused their fall, and that of De Fick.

The family of Menzikoff, and some others, recalled from exile.

After having related some acts of severity by the Empress, it is but just to specify those of her graciousness. She recalled several families from the exile into which they had been sent under the reigns of Catherine and of Peter II. and among others the family of Menzikoff, to which she ordered to be restored a great part of the lands confiscated from them, though she had great reason of resentment against Menzikoff, who, during the reign of Catherine, had given her every imaginable cause of discontent.

The

The court being arrived at Petersburg, the Empress applied herself with great assiduity to business, determined as she was that every thing in her vast empire should be put upon a better footing than ever. She began with the military.

The count Munich whom the Empress had made president of the college of war, after the fall of the marshal Dolgoroucki, was raised to the rank of marshal, and placed at the head of the war department. She could not have made a better choice, for it was by the care and management of this general that the Russian army was put upon a more regular footing than it had ever been, and that a certain discipline, till then unknown among them, was introduced into the troops.

Count Munich is made general field-marshal.

Munich had already, so far back as the beginning of the year 1731, proposed, that, in order to have in readiness good subaltern officers to fill vacancies in the army, there should be established a kind of seminary of them, by instituting a corps of cadets out of the young Russian and Livonian nobility, as also out of the sons of the foreign officers, who should engage in the service. This project was established and approved. He had the direction of it, and under him the lieutenant-general baron de Louberas. The King of Prussia sent officers and subalterns for the first establishment of this corps, and to teach them the Prussian exercise. The palace of Menzikoff was chosen to lodge the cadets. This is a spacious building, where the whole corps, consisting of three hundred and sixty cadets, are conveniently lodged, with all their officers and masters. This establishment is one of the best that was made in Russia. The youth are very well educated in it; they are taught not only the bodily exercises, but literature and polite learning, where any of genius shew a desire of applying to such studies. The officers that are chosen out of this academy are, without doubt,

Establishment of the corps of Cadets.

doubt, the best that Russia furnishes of its own natives.

Three regiments of Cuirassiers raised.

It was also, by the advice of count Munich, that the Empress caused three regiments of Cuirassiers to be raised. Till then Russia had not had any, and I rather think they might have done very well without them; for this cavalry has been of great expence to them, and hitherto the empire has hardly made any use of them. The first was called the regiment of the body-guards; the second was given to count Munich, and the third to the Prince of Brunswick. Russia itself not affording horses strong enough to remount a heavy cavalry, there was a necessity for buying them out of Holstein. The King of Prussia assisted these regiments also with a certain number of officers and subalterns, to put this cavalry in order, and upon the Prussian footing.

Nor was this Prince satisfied with shewing his friendship for the Empress, by furnishing to her officers and subalterns for exercising the corps of cadets, but he also, some time after, sent to her officers of the artillery to recruit her corps of engineers. He got, in return, four-score men of the requisite standard of stature for his regiment of tall grenadiers.

Pay of the Russian officers raised.

Nearly about this time the Empress approved another project of the count Munich; it was to raise the pay of the Russian officers, which till then had been very slender.

Peter I. in forming his army, had instituted three degrees of pay.

The foreigners newly entered into the service received a very high pay.

Those who were born in the country, and who had the appellation of *starie inostrannie* (antient foreigners) because their fathers and grandfathers were already established in Russia, had a somewhat smaller.

The

The Russians had still a less, that of an ensign not amounting to above eight German florins a month. Munich represented to the court, that they could not subsist upon it, and that it was unjust that foreigners should have a higher pay than the natives, so that they were all rated alike, and the Russian pay became thus augmented to double.

It was also by the advice of count Munich, that a new military establishment was undertaken, to put the army on a more regular foot than it had before been. The court appointed for this a committee of general officers, who were to frame the plan of alterations under the direction of count Munich. This establishment was published, and introduced in 1733.

The Empress was not content with seeing her army put on a good footing, but she meant also to have made trade flourish in her dominions. She lessened the duties of import on some kind of merchandise one third, and renewed all the ancient treaties of commerce.

To the misunderstanding which had existed for several years between the courts of Petersburg and Copenhagen, there was an end put, by a treaty of alliance concluded at Copenhagen, under the mediation of the Emperor. The embroils between these two courts had begun under Peter I. This prince had conceived a discontent against the King of Denmark, even at the time he was his ally. But especially, after having resolved to marry his daughter to the duke of Holstein, he espoused the interests of his son-in-law against that crown. The same maxims had been adhered to under the reigns of Catherine and of Peter II. so that the good harmony between the two courts had entirely ceased. But Anne having mounted the throne, had nothing at heart of the duke of Holstein's interests, so that it became very easy to reconcile the two parties. The King of
E Den-

Denmark, who had not hitherto acknowledged the sovereigns of Russia under the title of Emperor, did it by this treaty, and the Empress obliged herself to guarantee all the provinces possessed by the King of Denmark, without any exception.

Embassy
from Chi-
na.

It was about this time, that there arrived at Petersburgh an embassy from China. It was the first that had ever been sent from that empire to any court of Europe. It consisted of three ambassadors, and a numerous retinue. In time past, the envoys of China had been addressed to none but the governors of Siberia, and had regulated all the affairs of the commerce to Tobolskow.

The public was not, on this occasion, much edified with the Chinese manners and education; though the ambassadors were mandarines, of the second order; that is to say, persons of great quality. One of them even had the peacock's feather, which is a mark of high distinction in China. The presents they brought to the court of Petersburgh consisted of China porcelain, of images made of coral, and mother of pearl. Those they carried back, in return, were a great quantity of furs, and especially the model of a man of war in silver, which the court might possibly choose the readier to send to the Emperor of China, to give him an idea of the maritime power of Russia.

The pro-
vinces
conquered
from Per-
sia are
given up.

The court of Petersburgh, who would have long before been highly pleased with any good pretence for getting rid with honor of those provinces which Peter I. had conquered from Persia, and of which the keeping cost more than they were worth (a prodigious number of people having perished in them,) an expedient was at length found. A negotiation was entered upon to this purpose with the court of Isfahan, and the provinces were ceded to it, in consideration of several advantages granted to commerce. But as Thomas Kooley Khawn (Schach Nadir) designed to recommence the war against the Turks, one of the

the articles of the treaty was, that Russia should still maintain the garrison for some years; so that the Empress kept those places till 1739.

Russia had been obliged to keep near thirty thousand men in garrison in those provinces, and not a year passed without its being necessary to recruit the deficiency of above one half, as the Russians, not being able to endure the climate, died like flies there. It was reckoned, that from the year 1722, in which Peter I. had entered that country, to the time that the Russians evacuated it, there had perished a hundred and thirty thousand men in it.

Some time after the conclusion of this treaty, Schach Nadir having declared war against the Turks, laid siege to Ardebil, but made no progress in his attacks: upon which the general Lewasthew, commander in chief of the Russian troops in the provinces of Persia, sent him, by order of his court, some of his officers of artillery, and engineers, to direct the siege. The town being about to surrender general Lewasthew offered his mediation, which both parties accepting, he obtained for the garrison an exemption from being prisoners of war, and that they should be conducted to Schamakie, a place belonging to the Porte: Infomuch that Lewasthew had great thanks on both sides. The Russian officers, during the time of their stay in the Persian camp, had worn Persian habits, that they might not be known by the Turks.

It was much about this time that Russia had a kind of falling out with Poland. This republic was bent on dividing the dutchy of Courtland into palatinates, after that the reigning duke should be deceased, and this affair was to be agitated at the diet. But the Empress ordered it to be declared, that she would never suffer such a division; and that as she had pretensions upon Courland on ac-

count of her dowry, she had proposed to herself to preserve to the nobility of it their right of electing a duke on the demise, without issue, of the reigning one. Her minister then at Warsaw gave in several memorials upon this matter; to which, as the court of Petersburg did not think there was respect enough paid, several regiments had orders to draw near to the frontiers of Poland, to give the more weight to the solicitations of her ministers; but after some negotiations, the affair was pacified, and the troops returned to quarters, so, however, as not to be at too great a distance from the borders.

Another reason for the march of the troops to the frontiers of Poland was, that the primate, who was of the family of Potoski, was apprehensive of the King's undertaking to break in upon the liberty of Poland, as he had done several acts contrary to the *pacta conventa*. He wanted, among other things, to declare Poniatowski crown-general before the opening of the diet. Upon which they sent the palatine of Belisk, who was also of the family of Potoski, to the court of Russia, to solicit assistance against the King. This prince being deceased some months afterwards, those very troops who had advanced to the borders against him, entered Poland, to place his son on the throne.

Voyage of the court to the canal of Ladoga. In the month of September, the Empress, with her whole court, went to view the canal of Ladoga. This voyage was performed by water, in four-score vessels, which were galleys, and other smaller barks, called *boyers*. She went up the canal from one end to the other, and expressed great satisfaction at seeing the work finished.

Peter I. had begun it in 1717. This Prince, when he laid the foundations of Petersburg, had determined not only to fix his residence in it, but to make it the most trading town in his whole empire. To accomplish which, it was necessary to faci-

facilitate the carriage to it of merchandise, as well as of provisions, from the most inward parts of his dominions; the country around Petersburgh not being able to supply so large a town with provisions for its consumption. The best method for this was, to form canals, and as this Prince was great in every thing he undertook, he had thoughts of joining the Caspian to the Baltic sea. This project did not appear to be of very difficult execution, by means of a small canal which he caused to be made near *Wistchniwolotchcock* *, between the two rivers of Tzen and of Smila; the first of which is joined to the Tweretz by the Wolga, and the second enters into the *Insda*, which, near the great Novogorod, is in confluence with the Wolchowa, that runs into the lake of Ladoga, out of which the river Newa issuing, disembogues into the sea below Petersburgh. But there was no making use of the lake of Ladoga, it being so subject to storms, and full of rocks and dangerous places, that a number of vessels perished there every year. It was necessary to have recourse to some more considerable work. The land along the shores of the lake was surveyed, and as there occurred no great obstacles, Peter I. gave the undertaking in charge to Prince Menzikoff, and the general Pizareu, neither of whom understood any thing in the least of this kind of works. Accordingly, they had the ground dug for two years together, without its being possible to say that they made any advance, so that it is probable it never would have been finished, if Munich had not entered into the service of Russia. The Emperor gave him the direction of it, and he had the honor of finishing it, and of putting it into the condition in which it is at present.

* *Wistchniwolotchcock*, a little town upon the road between Moscow and Petersburgh.

This

This canal begins at Schluselburgh, where it communicates with the Newa, and continues along the lake of Ladoga, as far as the town of that name, where it joins the river Wolkowa. It is in length about a hundred and four wersts, or twenty-six French leagues. The breadth is seventy feet, and the depth sixteen. The sides are cased with timbers, except a small space that is faced with stone. There are sluices along the canal to raise or fall the water.

Misunder-
standing
between
Munich
and Biron.

After that the court was returned from this voyage, Munich had a broil with count Biron, by which he had like to have been undone. And as Biron, Munich, and Osterman have acted the most capital parts in the theatre of Russia, it is incumbent in me to omit nothing that may give a clear idea of their character and way of thinking, in which view I shall here state this quarrel at full length.

As soon as the court was settled at Petersburg, Munich had found means to insinuate himself with the count Biron, and had managed to make himself so necessary to the favorite, that he could not undertake or decide on any affairs of the least consequence without having previously consulted him. Munich desired nothing better than to be constantly employed, and, animated by ambition, aspired to be placed at the head of affairs. In this view he seized every occasion for insinuating himself into the ministry, and into the cabinet; but as he had been encroaching on the right of count Osterman, he found in him one that was not of a humor to suffer it, and who lost no opportunity of instilling suspicions into the chamberlain (the favorite) against the marshal. He observed to him, that the ambitious views of the general had clearly no other object than to gain the entire confidence of the Empress; no sooner would he be established in which, than he would not fail to remove at a distance from her all such as were
in

in opposition to him; and that the first whom he would endeavour to send away would doubtless be the high-chamberlain. The count Lewenwold, the master of horse, colonel of the guards, and a great favorite of Biron, confirmed to him this insinuation; and as he was a mortal enemy to Munich, he blew the flame as much as possible. Biron, who did not care to come immediately to an open rupture, employed emissaries to watch the conduct of Munich with regard to him. Many days then did not pass before there were reported to the favorite certain disrespectful expressions the marshal had made use of in speaking of him. This served to complete his persuasion of the other's fallity to him, and he began to see clearly, that, if he continued to allow Munich to see the Empress as frequently as he had done, his own ruin would be inevitable. He greatly dreaded his wit, and was apprehensive of being supplanted by him with the Empress, who was not unlikely to take such a fancy for him as might possibly make her the first that would think of getting rid of her old favorite. This put him on getting the start of his enemy; the first thing then he did was, to make him remove to a house in a part of the town, at a distance from the court, instead of the apartment which he before occupied, and which joined to his own; and that he might have a pretext for thus disgracing him, he persuaded the Empress to give his apartment to the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh. Munich received all on a sudden an order to quit his apartment, and to go and settle on the other side of the Newa. He requested of the count Biron some delay, for the more convenient removal of his house hold goods, but could not obtain it. He was obliged to obey immediately; and as the favorite was entirely altered towards him, he was, and that not without reason, afraid of greater mischief to him, if he did not manage so as to appease him. He soon then tried

tried every earthly means to recover his favor with him. A number of friends on each side interposed their good offices, and used their best endeavours to reconcile them. They succeeded only by halves; for ever since that time Biron and Osterman had a mistrust of Munich, who on his part had an equal one of them.

Action
between
the Russi-
ans
and the
Tartars of
Crimea,
under the
Prince
Hesse
Hom-
bourgh.

Towards the close of the year 1732, the Russian troops, under the orders of the Prince Hesse Hombourgh, had a smart engagement with the Tartars of Crimea, in the conquered provinces of Persia, where that Prince had been sent to take the command of a part of the forces. I have above mentioned the treaty made with the Schach Nadir. This Prince being at war with the Turks, wanted to have the rear of his dominions covered by the Russian garrisons, that he might be the freer to make conquests upon the enemies. He had laid siege to Bagdad, which he was closely pressing. The court of Constantinople, anxious for the fate of this town, had sent orders to the Khawn of Crimea to march with his best troops to the relief of the town, and to take preferably the shortest and the most convenient way for entering Persia, and making a diversion. The Khawn, without delay, put his troops in motion, and made them take their march through the Russian frontiers, without asking leave. Upon this the Prince Hesse Hombourgh sent word to the Sultan, Terti-Gherai, who commanded the Tartars, that he should abstain from passing through the Russian dominions, or that, in case of his advancing, he would oppose him, and treat him as an enemy. So far was the Sultan from paying any regard to this remonstrance, that he not only persisted in his design of crossing the forbidden country, but endeavoured to stir up to a revolt several of the Tartar Hordes, subjects to Russia, and inhabitants in or about these parts. He sent them letters to excite them to an insurrection, but the chiefs of the

Tartars

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Tartars were so far from listening to his proposals, that they sent his letters un-opened, and under their unbroken seal, to the Prince of Hesse. Meanwhile, the Sultan having, with his army, passed the river of Terki, near the village Tcheltchney, and made all the dispositions for passing onward; the Prince's spies gave him notice that he was preparing to advance to another village, called Goraitchkie, but as there were two ways of getting into it, and both lay through two narrow passages or defiles, at a small distance one from the other, of which the first was considerably less narrow than the other, he made three divisions of the forces with him. He sent a colonel with five hundred dragoons to take possession of the most difficult of the defiles. The other he caused to be occupied by the major-general Jarepkin, with five hundred dragoons, eight hundred infantry, and some hundreds of Cossacks: the remainder of the troops, which might be about four hundred dragoons and as many infantry, he kept with himself, and took post in such a manner as to be able to give succour where the greatest danger should require it. The Tartars made at first as if they would attack the post of general Jarepkin, but all on a sudden they detached their main strength towards the other defile, which they vigorously attacked. The colonel who commanded there defended himself a long while, but would have been obliged at length to give way, if he had not been quickly succoured by the Prince, who, having notice of his danger, hastened instantly to his assistance with his reserve, and sent an order to general Jarepkin to march also thither, with a part of his forces. Scarce had they had time to form, when the Tartars fell with fury upon them, attacking the Russians sword in hand. They were received with such a brisk fire of their small arms and field-pieces as cooled a little their ardor; they retreated out of gun-shot, but having formed afresh their

their order of battle, they returned to the attack, and obliged the left wing, commanded by general Jerepkin, to gave way, so that they lost ground for above five hundred paces. A firing was then begun from some field-pieces which the Prince had placed for the defence of the larger defiles; these took the enemies in flank, and stopped them short. They abandoned the victory, which they had in their own hands, and fled in great confusion, leaving above a thousand of their dead on the field of battle. The Russians had in this action about four hundred killed and wounded. The general Jerepkin received a cut in his face with a sabre; and the Prince, who had been surrounded with the enemies, had certainly been taken prisoner, but for the goodness of his horse. The Tartars were above twenty-five thousand strong, and the Russians were in all but four thousand, the Cossacks included.

1733.
Death of
the King
of Poland,
Augustus
II. and
disturban-
ces in that
country.

The disturbances of Poland began with the year 1733. The King, Augustus II, who had repaired to Warsaw to hold a diet extraordinary, died there the 11th of February. The archbishop of Gnezen, primate of the kingdom, took the regency, and convened the diet of convocation, in which it was unanimously stipulated to give the exclusion to all foreign Princes, and to elect none but a *piaste*, or native nobleman.

The courts of Vienna and of Petersburg at first much approved of this resolution of the diet, and gave orders to their ambassadors to express their satisfaction at it to the republic, but to add, at the same time, that they could never suffer King Stanislaus to be chosen, who had been, by the result of a diet, declared incapable of the crown. These two courts were, at that time, very far from a disposition in favor of the Elector of Saxony: on the contrary, there had, for some years, prevailed so great a coolness in them towards him, as was not unlikely to have brought on a war, if the death of the King had not prevented it. As to the court of Vienna,

Vienna, the cause of dispute was, that he had not only refused to sign the Pragmatic Sanction, but had even entered into a close connection with France, against the interests of the house of Austria. As to Russia, its motives of discontent were, the King's not having acted according to the views of the court of Petersburg in the affairs of Courland; besides which, the primate, and a part of the nobility, who had suspected the King of designs upon the liberty of Poland, had applied to Russia, imploring its assistance in case of his undertaking any thing against the republic.

Affairs soon changed aspect. The new Elector of Saxony found means to appease the court of Vienna, by signing the Pragmatic Sanction; and as to Russia, he promised to conform to the will of the Empress with regard to the affairs of Courland, so that both courts united to procure him the crown of Poland. Their ambassadors had orders to declare, especially to the primate, that they would recognise no other King of Poland than the Elector of Saxony, and that her Russian Majesty would support the election of that Prince with all her forces, in case of the republic's not taking such a resolution with a good grace.

The court of Petersburg had caused two bodies of troops to be assembled, the one in Ukrain, on the frontiers of Lithuania, the other in Livonia, upon those of Courland. In the mean while, France had spared neither pains nor money to get King Stanislaus elected. The primate, and the greatest part of the nobility, seeing that the Russians signified their commands to them in the tone of masters, and that the point insisted on was nothing less than such a compulsion to receive the law from foreign powers as totally destroyed the *liberum veto*, which was the great essential of the Polish liberty, united in favor of Stanislaus. They wrote accordingly to France to hasten his departure, that he might
come

might come to Poland time enough to be present at the proclamation.

Stanislaus repairs to Poland, and is elected King.

The diet of election began on the twenty-fifth of August, and continued, though often not without violent contestations, till the 12th of September, when Stanislaus Leckzinski was, for the second time, elected King of Poland, unanimously by all the gentlemen who were at the *kola*, or field of election. This Prince had arrived on the ninth, and had kept *incognito* in the house of the French ambassador. The primate, and all the nobility of his party, now imagined that they had triumphed over all opposition, and were in hopes, that though the courts of Vienna and Petersburg might not be pleased with their procedure, they could never, however, carry the point of overturning the act of almost the whole nation.

Measures taken by the court of Petersburg.

The courts of Vienna and Petersburg had been duly informed of the schemes of France, and cabals of the primate. The Empress of Russia had caused to be played off all the springs of policy imaginable, to embarrass and retard the election of Stanislaus, in the hope that, by gaining time, the Elector's party would increase, and that he might be chosen King without the necessity of coming to an open rupture. Her ambassadors at Warsaw had orders to spare neither fair promises nor money to weaken the French party. She wrote to the states of Lithuania, and made a mention to them of the concern she took in the maintainance of the liberty of the republic. Her aim was to persuade the senators of the grand duchy to detach themselves from Poland. She did not, however, entirely succeed. There were but a few who came into a separation, and retired on the other side of the Wistula, to a village called Praag. The bishops of Cracovia, of Posnania, the Princes Wiesnowiski, and some others, were of the number, which altogether appeared but a small one in comparison of the rest of the nobility. And yet it was these that

gave

gave the first impulse to the whole machine, and placed Augustus III. on the throne of Poland. Some of the separatists had aspired to the crown for themselves, but finding that they could not succeed, they united to procure it for the elector of Saxony, rather than suffer it quietly in the possession of King Stanislaus.

They wrote to Petersburg, and requested the protection of Russia against the primate and the French party. The Empress, who only wanted a pretext for sending troops into Poland, could not have wished a fairer one than the being called in by the Poles themselves. Upon this, she sent orders to count Lacy to enter Lithuania, at the head of twenty thousand men. On receipt of them, he advanced in hasty marches towards Warsaw, in the hope that he should arrive time enough to hinder the proclamation of King Stanislaus. But the primate had taken his measures too well. In the meanwhile, the male-content nobility went out to meet count Lacy, and on the 30th of September came along with him to the banks of the Wistula. They proposed passing the river, and to repair directly to the field of election, but the Poles of the contrary party had broke down all the bridges, as soon as Stanislaus had retreated to make himself master of the town of Dantzick.

Not to lose time then, they proceeded to the election of the Elector of Saxony, near the village of Comiez, upon the same field, where Henry of Valois (the Third of France) had been chosen. It was on the 5th of October that this great affair was determined, on the eve of the day fixed to be the last of the diet of election. About fifteen senators and six hundred gentlemen were present at it.

While the count Lacy, with the Russian troops, was taken up with giving a new King to the Poles, these had insinuated an intimation to the ministers of the courts of Petersburg and Dresden, to quit

War-

The Russian troops enter Poland.

The Elector of Saxony is elected King of Poland, under the name of Augustus III.

Warsaw within a limited time. Which term being expired on the 29th of September, without their having left the town, they plundered the palace of the count Lowenwold the younger, and second of the Russian embassy, and attacked the palace of Saxony, with six pieces of cannon. Twenty or thirty shot were fired before they could break open the door; after which they proceeded to storm it, with design to take it by assault, when, having near forty men killed, their courage being cooled, they granted a capitulation to those that were in the house; the ministers having withdrawn themselves out of it some days before, and taken shelter at count Weldseck's, the emperor's ambassador.

After the proclamation of King Augustus, Lacy, with the troops under his command, passed the Wistula, and put some regiments into quarters at Warsaw.

The Empress also ordered several more bodies of troops to file off into Poland and Lithuania, under the command of the Prince Boraitinski, and the general Keith. The whole of the forces might amount to fifty thousand men. The general often received reiterated orders from court, not to remain a moment in inaction, but to undertake every thing that might strengthen the party of Augustus, and weaken that of Stanislaus. The court of Petersburg had at heart the terminating the affairs of Poland before the opening of the next campaign, but in vain; almost all Poland being in the interest of Stanislaus, and the nobility too attached to their liberty of chusing their King, to renounce so easily an act of their own. So that it was plainly seen, that while Stanislaus remained in the country, there could be no hope of tranquillity. The count Lacy then had orders to assemble the most troops that he could, and march strait to Dantzick, to force Stanislaus to quit that town,

town, as likewise all the territories of the republic. Such an enterprise was not without many difficulties, for, notwithstanding the great forces that Russia had in Poland, its troops were dispersed over various provinces, both for the sake of their subsistence, and of keeping the whole country equally in awe; so that Lacy could not assemble above twelve thousand men to act in that part. With this body he advanced towards Polish Prussia, and on the 16th of January arrived at Thorn. This town submitted without any hesitation to the new King, and received a Russian garrison. After making the necessary arrangements there for the establishing a magazine, he pursued his march.

On the 6th of February, the troops took up their first quarters in the territory of Dantzick. ^{1734.} The 22d, they made their approaches to the town, ^{Blockade and siege of Dantzick.} and took post in the neighbouring villages. The general's quarters were at Prust, about half a mile from Dantzick. Thence he sent a trumpet to the town, to exhort the senate to abandon the party of Stanislaus, and to submit to their *lawful King*, Augustus III. by receiving a Russian garrison; intimating to them, at the same time, the bad consequences of their refusal. But the magistracy of Dantzick had taken their resolution; the presence of the King, and the promises of the Marquess de Monti on the part of France, had determined them to risk every thing sooner than abandon a King who had taken refuge among them, and placed his confidence in their fidelity. It is true, however, that neither the King nor the town had believed that things would be pushed so far as they at length were. In the mean while they in the town had taken all the necessary arrangements for making a long and vigorous resistance. There were several new regiments raised. The burghers themselves repaired to their banners, to serve on the ramparts. France had

had sent them engineers ; and from Sweden there, were come above an hundred officers, with a good quantity of musquets and ammunition of war. All this, together with the promises of a large succour soon to follow, had more and more animated the town to persevere in its fidelity. Most certain too it is, that if they had had very determinate people, with able officers at their head, that would have undertaken any thing of consequence, the Russians would have been obliged to abandon their project of rendering themselves masters of Dantzick, even before opening the trenches. For, at the beginning, their forces did not consist of above twelve thousand men, whereas those of the besieged were thrice the number. Now, as the besiegers had ground at great distances to keep, they were dispersed over the villages for the space of above two miles. Nothing could have been more easy than to have fallen with a great superiority upon some of their quarters ; to have beaten them, and consequently, to have broken all their measures. The party of Stanislaus had also under its orders several Polish lords, with above fifty thousand men in the field, who, instead of any attention to act in aid of the King, minded nothing but plundering, and ruining their own country, so that the Russians had all the time they could wish to take their measures, and to reduce the town to a desperate condition.

The month of February passed over without Lacy's undertaking any thing ; for, besides that the season was not proper for the beginning a siege, he was in want of every necessary for it, so that he was taken up with nothing but forming his magazines, and rendering subsistence difficult to the town, by intercepting the provisions it used to receive from the country, and by a cut of the river, making such a drain as stopped the working of the best, if not the only mill that Dantzick had.

Such

Such was the situation of things when, on the 9th of March, the marshal count Munich arrived, under a Prussian escort, before Dantzick.

The marshal Munich arrives before Dantzick.

Count Biron, unable to conquer his suspicions of Munich, had wished to see him removed at a distance from the court, and had managed so as to get the command in chief bestowed on him of all the troops in Poland, with orders to act vigorously for the reduction of the town of Dantzick. Not that at bottom the intention of Biron was, that he should succeed in it. The marshal, finding that he had too small a force for an expedition of this importance, dispatched orders to several regiments to come and join him. He next began with sending a manifesto to Dantzick, by which he admonished the inhabitants of the town to renounce Stanislaus, to submit to Augustus III. and to receive a Russian garrison; allowing them only twenty-four hours time to come to a determination. This term being expired, without their having changed their resolution, he caused the trenches to be opened, and a redoubt to be made on the side of Zigankenbergh.

On the night between the nineteenth and twentieth, the besiegers attacked the fort called Ohra, where there was a garrison of four hundred men, and made themselves masters of it, after a resistance of two hours.

The twenty-first, there were fired the first shot at the town, but without effect; for they had hardly any thing but field-pieces, the greatest not being above eight pounders, which they had taken, together with the mortars, at Ohra.

In the mean while, the town was more and more closely invested. The besiegers took a fort, which was called the Head of Dantzick, and were masters of all the ground between the town and the sea.

F

Munich

Munich having judged that the town of Elbing would be of great service to him, detached a colonel with five hundred dragoons, and four hundred foot, to summon it; upon which it surrendered, without any demur: the Polish regiments that were in it took an oath to the King Augustus, and the town received a Russian garrison. The cannon and ammunition found there were sent to the camp before Dantzick.

The count Munich receiving advice that a great body of the confederates, under the count Tarlo and the Castellan Czerzky, had passed the Wistula, and were drawing near to succour the town, detached the lieutenant-general Segraiski, and the major-general Charles Biron, with two thousand dragoons, and a thousand Cossacks, to keep a check upon them. This detachment, near the little town of Schwetz, fell in with a body of the enemy's troops, under the command of the Castellan Czerzky, consisting of thirty three banners, or about three thousand Polish gentlemen on horseback, and of at least two thousand foot, regulars, who had posted themselves behind the river of Brede, of which they had ruined the bridge. The general Segraiski instantly ordered workmen to repair it, and two thousand dragoons alighted to support them. The Poles having fired the first on the Russians, these returned it with some field-pieces, which frightened them so, that they began to retreat. As soon as the bridge was in order again, the Russians passed it, and pursued the remainder of them. At Schwetz there was found a magazine, consisting of eighty bushels of rye, as many of oats, but especially a great quantity of straw and hay.

Some days afterwards, advice was received, that the count Tarlo was advancing with a hundred and thirty Polish banners, two regiments of infantry, and the remains of the body that had fled under the Castellan Czerzky. His design was
to

to attack general Segraiski, after that to draw near to Dantzick, and to raise the siege. Upon this, Munich detached the general Lacy, on the seventeenth of April, with fifteen hundred dragoons, to join Segraiski, and to drive the enemies from those parts. Lacy, making a forced march, joined Segraiski the same day, and took the command of all the troops. They marched the eighteenth and nineteenth, and at length, on the twentieth, they came up with the enemy near a village called Waicezina, situate near the sea-side, and not far from the frontiers of Pomerania. The enemy had there put themselves into order of battle: they had in front two very difficult defiles, one behind the other, which were to be passed before they could be attacked. Two regiments of dragoons immediately dismounting, passed the first defile; and to make the enemy believe that they had also infantry with them, the drums were ordered to beat the Russian march. The Russians, after having got through the first defile, formed, and advanced to pass the second, which was very near the enemy. Some hundreds of Cossacks were sent before to harass the Poles, and give the regular troops time to display themselves. The Cossacks were at first repulsed, but having been joined by the other troops, the enemies were attacked, and routed. The Polish noblemen were the first that began to run, abandoning the regular troops; who, seeing themselves thus deserted, soon followed their example. The Poles were at least ten thousand strong, whereas the Russians had not above three thousand two hundred dragoons, and a thousand Cossacks. This was the only attempt the confederate Poles made to succour Stanislaus, and relieve the town of Dantzick.

During the last days of the month of March, the besiegers had entered a redoubt on the bank of the Wistula, to cut off the communication be-

tween the town and the fort of Weichselmunde, and as the river was very narrow in that part, this succeeded nearly to their purpose; no vessel being able to pass but with great difficulty.

It was, however, impossible for Munich to push the siege with the vigor that he could have wished, for want of proper battering-cannon. The king of Prussia had, even at the beginning, objected to the giving leave for the carriage of artillery, for the siege, through his country; but, after repeated requisitions, he consented at length to its being disembarked at Pillaw, and conveyed by water to the army.

Here I cannot help mentioning a very singular, and, perhaps, the only incident that ever was of this kind, which is, that mortars were sent for, and brought post from Saxony. They came in covered waggons, and passed through the king of Prussia's country, under the name of the duke of Weissenfel's equipage. These mortars arrived on the twenty-ninth of April before Dantzick; and as the artillery which had been disembarked at Pillaw came pretty near at the same time, the marshal now made the necessary dispositions for attacking the town with more vivacity.

On the thirtieth they began to throw the first bombs: the town took fire in several places, but with no great consequence.

On the night between the sixth and seventh of May, the marshal ordered an assault on the fort called Sommersthanztz, which was carried after an hour's resistance. The officer who commanded in it, with about twenty men, found means to retreat to Weichselmunde. The taking this fort was of so much the more importance, that it was the only place by which the town could by this time have any communication with Weichselmunde.

I have

I have precedently observed, that Munich had with him too small a force for so great an enterprize as the siege of Dantzick, so that judging so many troops as were at Warsaw, and in the neighbourhood of that town, not to be so necessary, he sent orders to major Louberas, who commanded a part of them, to march with some regiments to join him. But this officer, who thought the quarters of Warsaw better than those before Dantzick, alledged some excuses, and staid where he was. Munich sent him a second order, which Louberas obeyed as little as the first. Upon this Munich had him put under arrest, and gave the command to the senior officer of the corps, and these troops were embarked in great boats, with which they came down the Wistula to the camp before Dantzick. Mean while, Louberas, who had the interest and patronage of the master of the horse, Lowenwolde, easily found means to excuse himself to the court, and was set at liberty. Lowenwolde would not have been sorry that Munich should have miscarried in his undertakings.

The taking Sommersthantz, and taking it with so little a loss of men, had inspired Munich with the confidence of being able, with the same facility, to make himself master of Hagelsberg; and as a courier from Petersburg had brought him an order to press the siege, he was in hopes of compelling the Dantzickers to beg a capitulation after his taking that place. On the eighth of May, accompanied by count Lacy, and general Biron, he went to reconnoitre the outworks of that hill. Upon the right hand, on the side of the gate of Olivia, it is very steep, and almost inaccessible. At the head of it there is a regular horn-work, with a ravelin, a counterscarp, and a glacis; and the whole is well palisaded, fraised, and defended by several pieces of cannon. But
upon

upon the left, on the side of Scheidlitz, there is but one earthen fortification, without covered way or glacis. The ditch is dry, and without palisades; there is only the berm that is provided with a quick-set hedge. It was then resolved to attack it on that side. Upon the ninth, all the necessary dispositions were made. Eight thousand men were ordered, of which three thousand were to give the assault, and the others were to sustain them. They assembled, towards the evening, at the tail of the trench. About ten o'clock the troops began their march in three columns. There were, besides, fifteen hundred men sent on command, to make three false attacks: the first on the other side of the Wistula; the second against the Bischofsberg; the third against the right of Hagelsberg. The officer who commanded this last attack, penetrated as far as into the covered-way. The troops who were to give the assault had advanced in admirable order and silence to the place where they were to mount. The attack began towards midnight. After having passed the ditch, the troops marched to the assault with all the firmness imaginable, and made themselves masters of a battery of seven pieces of cannon; but by a strangely singular misfortune, the commanders of the three columns, and almost all the principal officers, as well as engineers, were killed or wounded at the first discharge from the enemy. The column, instead of keeping their distances, and of acting each separately, had mixed so, that the soldiers, having now no leaders that could avail themselves of the advantage they had gained, did not go on, and yet were determined to maintain the post they had got. They remained on it for three whole hours together, and stood a terrible fire from the besieged. Count Munich and the other generals, who were at the head of the trenches, sent their aid-de-camps to order them to retreat. The soldiers

diers would not obey, and sent word they would sooner suffer themselves to be knocked on the head on the spot than give way an inch. General Lacy was at length obliged to go himself to them to persuade them, upon which they obeyed him. The Russians, at this attack, had above two thousand men killed and wounded, and a hundred and twenty officers. The loss was not half so great on the part of the besieged. If the garrison had known how to take its advantage of the ill success of this assault; and had immediately, on that instant, made a sally with the best part of their troops, they would have forced the Russians to raise the siege.

Munich, who found his numbers considerably thinned by this check, sent orders to the regiments, who were coming from Warsaw, to hasten their march, and called into the camp, several detachments which had been sent to the neighbouring towns.

At that time, there was more talk than ever of the expected French succours: there were even advices of some ships being arrived in the road of Dantzick. Munich, in order to deprive the French of all hopes of subsisting, in case of their disembarking, set fire to all the villages along the coast; and to render it impracticable for them to throw in succours to the town on the side of the sea, he caused the river to be so effectually barricaded, as to cut off all communication with Weichselmunde, and the vessels that attempted to pass were all obliged to return.

On the fourteenth, a part of the troops that were to come from Warsaw, entered the camp, and the remainder arrived the following days, within the twentieth.

The twenty-second, the marshal, at the repeated request of the magistracy, granted the town a suspension of arms for eight and forty hours. The magis-

magistracy wanted to confer with all the orders of the towns-people, upon the proposals which marshal Munich had afresh made to them, to submit to the clemency of the Empress of Russia, and to acknowledge the King Augustus III. The armistice ended without any thing having been concluded, and the hostilities re-commenced on the twenty-fourth with greater vivacity than ever.

On the same day, the French fleet, consisting of sixteen sail arrived, and landed three regiments of French infantry, Blaisois, Perigord, and La Marche, under the command of brigadier de la Motte Perouse. There were two thousand four hundred of them in all. They came too late, and in too small a number, to oblige the Russians to raise the siege.

On the 25th, the Saxons, under the orders of the duke of Weissenfels arrived in the camp: they consisted of eight battalions and twenty-two squadrons. Their right encamped on the side of Newstholland; their left towards Oliva; the duke's quarters were at Langfour.

On the twenty-seventh, the French troops, who had encamped along the shore, between the canal and the sea, came out of their camp, and advanced in three columns towards the Russian intrenchments. They made several signals to the town to favour their enterprize by a sally. And in fact a great detachment of infantry was seen to come out of the town, which advanced towards the left wing of the Russians, while the French attacked them on the other side with all imaginable vigor. The French had passed the barricade of felled trees, which covered the retrenchment, to within fifteen paces of which they had advanced, before the Russians fired a single shot at them; but when they began their discharge, the fire of it was kept up effectually. The French, after several attempts to force the retrenchment, finding that they

they could not accomplish it, retreated, leaving one hundred and sixty men killed on the spot, among whom was the count of Plelo, the French King's ambassador at Copenhagen. Those of the town, seeing that the French had been repulied, retreated under their walls. They were pursued to the glacis.

Munich had expended all his balls, bomb-shells, and ammunition, by the continued firing he had kept up against the town. He had hoped that the Saxons would have brought him a new supply, but that not being the case, the fire slackened a good deal; and they were waiting with impatience for the arrival of the Russian fleet, on board of which there had been put a good quantity.

The night between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, the Saxons, for the first time, relieved the Russians in the trenches. The besiegers were taken up with nothing, to the twelfth of June, but pushing their works, and putting their batteries in order, to attack the town with the more force, when the artillery should arrive.

On the twelfth of June, at length the Russian fleet appeared in the Offing, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, six frigates, and seven other vessels. They came into the road of Dantzick, and no time was lost in landing the artillery and ammunition they had brought for the siege.

The fourteenth, the Russians had already began to employ them in their batteries against the town, and the fire continued very violent the rest of the siege.

The three French regiments had encamped under the cannon of Weichselmunde, on a small island called *La Platte*, where they had remained very quiet, without being molested by the besiegers. But, after the arrival of the fleet, it was deter-

determined not to spare them any longer. The bomb-ketches that came with the fleet drew near the shore, and began to bombard and cannonade the fort of Weichselmunde and the camp.

On the fifteenth, the magazine of gunpowder in the fort blew up, and the French suffered a great deal from the artillery of the ships.

On the nineteenth, the count Munich caused the French brigadier, and commander of the fleet, to be summoned to surrender. They asked a suspension of arms for three days, which was granted them. During that time, a conference was entered into with the French, who desired to be embarked, and transported to Copenhagen, which was granted them. At length, after a great deal of going backward and forward, it was allowed, that they should go out of their camp with all the military honors; that they should be embarked on board the Russian fleet, where they were to lay down their arms, till their landing at some port of the Baltic, which should be agreed upon by the Russian admirals. In consequence of this capitulation, they were embarked on the twenty-ninth; but as the port at which they were to be landed was not settled by the capitulation, instead of being conveyed to a neutral port, they were carried to Cronstadt, and afterwards sent into quarters at Livonia; and some months after, they were sent back to France.

The fort of Weichselmunde also surrendered the twenty fourth. The garrison evacuated it the twenty-fifth, to the number of four hundred and sixty-eight men, with the accustomed honors of war. They took the oaths to King Augustus.

On the twenty-eighth, the magistracy of Dantzick sent deputies to count Munich, to offer a parley; but nothing could be granted them without the preliminary conditions of delivering up King
Sta-

Stanislaus, the Primate, and the marquis de Monti.

On the twenty-ninth, the magistracy sent to acquaint the marshal Munich, that count Stanislaus had privately withdrawn himself. This so irritated the marshal, that he caused the bombardment to begin afresh, which had ceased for two days. Affairs were at length made up, and, on the thirtieth the capitulation was settled with the town, which submitted to Augustus III. The Polish nobles, who were at that time in it, did the same, and obtained the liberty of retiring to wherever they chose it. There were none put under arrest but the Primate of the kingdom, the count Poniatowski, and the marquis de Monti, who were conveyed under guard to Thorn.

The siege of Dantzick had lasted one hundred and thirty-five days, reckoning from the twenty-second of February, that the count Lacy made the first approaches to the town; and had cost the Russians more than eight thousand men, and near two hundred officers. The damage caused by four or five thousand bombs thrown into the town, was not so great as one would have imagined it from such a quantity.

The town was taxed at two millions of crowns, which it was to pay to the Empress of Russia; one million of which was by way of fine, for not having hindered the retreat of King Stanislaus. The empress forgave them half the sum.

While one part of the Russian army had been applied to the siege of Dantzick, the rest of the troops that were dispersed over the provinces of Poland, were employed in making war with the adherents to the party of Stanislaus.

I have already antecedently observed, that almost all the lords of the kingdom, and the greatest part of the lesser nobility, had embraced the party

Other expeditions of the Russian troops in Poland.

party of that Prince. They had raised a great number of troops, with which they infested all Poland, but they were more taken up with ravaging and burning the property and lands of their adversaries in the party of Augustus, than in making war against the Russians. The whole of their enterprizes consisted in nothing more than in harassing them with the needless marches they obliged them to make from time to time. They would assemble at some miles from the Russian camp or quarters; then setting fire to every thing in the estates of their countrymen, they boasted loudly, that they would give the enemy battle, if they could but light upon them; but no sooner did they see the Russians, though at a distance, than, without giving them time to fire above a shot or two at them, they scampered away. During this war, never did three hundred Russians go a step out of their way to avoid three thousand Poles. They beat them in every engagement or rencounter they had with them. The Saxons were not so fortunate, having come off by the worst in several occasions of trial with the Poles, who at length came to hold them in contempt, whereas they were extremely afraid of the Russians.

As the greatest part of the Polish nobility, having been made prisoners at Dantzick, had submitted to the king Augustus, this determined near half the kingdom to follow their example. The rest, nevertheless, continued the war, and detained the Russians a whole year more in Poland.

1735. The Empress sends ten thousand men to the Rhine. The Empress, however, finding that there was no longer a necessity for keeping up quite so numerous an army in this kingdom, and as the Emperor, Charles IV. had repeatedly urged to her his request of her sending succours to him on the Rhine, she ordered sixteen regiments of infantry to march for that purpose. The count Lacy had the

the command of them. He led them near the frontiers of Silesia, where those troops had their winter-quarters, and were brought into fine condition.

At the opening of the spring, Lacy had orders to march with eight regiments, about ten thousand men, to the Rhine: the others remained on the confines of Silesia, waiting for ulterior orders.

The generals, who commanded under Lacy, were the lieutenant-general Keith, the major-generals Bachmetew and Charles Biron.

The troops that were to go on, being entered into Silesia, passed in review before the commissaries of the Emperor. These were the marshal count Wildocheck, and lieutenant-general baron Haslinger. They crossed Bohemia and the high Palatinate, and arrived in the month of June at the banks of the Rhine. Every one admired, and was astonished, at the good discipline they observed on their march and in their quarters.

While the marshal Munich had been employed in Poland, his enemies at court had lost no opportunity of blackening him to the Empress. He had given some opening for blame in his attack of Hagelsberg, which, as it was said, he had undertaken too lightly. But when he returned to court at the end of the campaign, he found means to justify himself, and was restored to favor. He was of all the councils; and it was then resolved to declare war against the Turks, as soon as the affairs of Poland should be entirely settled. Munich was sent back to Warsaw to put the finishing hand to them. At length every thing was terminated there agreeably to their wish: peace was concluded; and all Poland submitted to the King that Russia had given it. Count Munich then left Warsaw, and repaired to the Ukraïna, where

1735. where the command of the troops were bestowed upon him.

As I have precedently had in view to treat of the affairs of Poland, without interruption, I shall here set down some other remarkable events that collaterally took place in the years 1734 and 1735.

Projects of
the Bashaw
Bonneval
for form-
ing the
Turkish
military.

The advantages which Thomas Kooley-Khawn (afterwards Schach Nadir) gained over the Turks, gave great pleasure to the court of Petersburg, as it had received repeated advices that the French ambassador at Constantinople had exerted his best endeavours to determine the Porte to come to a rupture with Russia, which could not but give some uneasiness to the Empress, though there were no apparent signs of it outwardly. This uneasiness was greatly augmented, when it was known at Petersburg, that the count, or rather then Bashaw Bonneval, had taught a body of Turkish troops all the exercises and evolutions which were practised in the other armies of Europe; and that his project was to put the whole militia of that vast empire upon a regular footing. The count Bonneval had, for the exercising these troops, availed himself of the service of several Frenchmen who had taken the turbant, and among others of Messieurs Ramsay and De Montchevreuil, who left France in company with the abbot Maccartny. But this project did not succeed. So long as Bonneval contented himself with the training of three thousand men, the Turks diverted themselves with it as at a comedy. The Sultan also, and all the ministers of the Porte, were extremely pleased at seeing the dexterity and expertness of those people at their exercise. But so soon as he gave signs of wanting to go farther, and make the improvement more general, he found unsurmountable obstacles; the count gave it over, fearing an universal revolt, in case of an attempt to introduce any innovation in the militia.

But

1735.

But it was not enough for the Empress of Russia to see that this project had come to nothing; she wanted to withdraw from Constantinople any such persons as might be the most capable of serving the Porte, in case of its resuming that plan. Her minister at that court had orders then to tamper with those officers to quit Turkey, to tempt them with great offers, and to assure them that they should make their fortune in Russia. Ramsay and Montchevreuil suffered themselves to be persuaded. They concealed themselves for some days in the house of the English ambassador, and afterwards got their passage in a ship for Holland. Montchevreuil died by the way. Ramsay got to Petersburg, where he was taken into the service as major. He took the name of count of Balmaine, and distinguished himself on all occasions, insomuch that he rose to the rank of colonel, and was killed in the action of Wilmanstrand.

It was in the course of the year 1734, that the court of Petersburg once more renewed its treaty of alliance with Thomas Kooley Khawn, who engaged not to make a peace with the Porte without including the interests of Russia. The Empress tried as much as possible to establish a close connexion and friendship with that power, but the Schach did not keep faith with her. He made a peace with the Porte at the very time that Russia was in the greatest heat of its war with the Turks.

In 1735, Sweden held a diet, which gave some inquietude to the Russians. They well knew that France was using its utmost efforts to engage the Swedes to a rupture. This nation had already given some indications of its ill-will to them. For when Stanislaus had taken refuge at Dantzick, a number of Swedish officers had, with the consent of the senate, repaired thither, to offer their service to that Prince: and when the town was taken they were made prisoners. But the Empress immediately

Renewal
of the
treaty with
Persia.

Renewal
of an al-
liance with
Sweden.

1735- immediately released, and sent them back to Stockholm. Some complaints too were made on this occasion, but as it was of great consequence to the Empress to have peace on that side, she made such offers to the court of Sweden, as determined it to renew the treaties of alliance and commerce which had subsisted between these two powers. Russia took upon itself to pay three or four hundred thousand florins which Sweden owed to the republic of Holland, and engaged to give to Sweden, preferably to all other nations, the liberty of purchasing and exporting grains from the ports of Livonia.

The head
governess
of the
Princess
Anne is
dismissed.

In the month of July, there happened at the court of Petersburg a small adventure, which may, however, deserve a place among the anecdotes in these memoirs. It was imputed to madam d'Aderkas, the head governess of the Princess Anne, that instead of vigilance and attention to her conduct, and to the giving her a good education, she had been induced to lend her assistance to the carrying on an intrigue between the Princess and a certain foreign minister. This being discovered, madam, the governess was dismissed, and shipped off in a vessel that carried her back to Germany. The minister, who had aspired to this great conquest, had, some time afterwards, in charge an affair that obliged him to return to his court, to which there was at the same time a hint conveyed, that his being sent back to Petersburg would not be acceptable. A gentleman of the chamber to the Empress, called Briltzin, being suspected of a privity to this intrigue, was sent away from the court, and had a place of captain in the garrison of Kasan: There he remained till the princess Anne made the duke of Courland be put under arrest: then she recalled him, and made him chamberlain, and first solicitor of the senate.

After the disturbances in Poland were quieted, Russia thought fit to begin a new war against the

the Turks. It was the frequent incursions which the Tartars had made into the Russian provinces, that served for a pretext to this rupture. The court of Petersburgh had made reiterated complaints of them, without receiving any satisfactory answer. In revenge of this, they entered into a war, which cost them immense sums, and a great number of lives, without gaining any real advantage.

1735.
Beginning
of the war
against the
Turks.

The truth, however, is, that Peter I. had already projected this war; having never been able to digest the peace of Pruth. He had prepared large magazines on the Don, and had amassed a great quantity of materials for building flat-bottomed boats to go down the Knieper and the Don, at Woronitz, Nowa Paulowska, and other places on the frontiers; as also an ample provision of arms, ammunition, and cloathing for the soldiers; in short, every thing was ready for opening the campaign, when death prevented the execution of his designs.

As soon as Anne had ascended the throne, Lowenwold, the master of the horse, brought this project again upon the carpet; and Keith, who was at that time major-general, and inspector-general of the army, had had, in 1732, orders, when he was to review the troops, to visit the stores that had been collected on the frontier places, and, in case of his finding that the provisions lodged there were damaged, that he should purchase fresh, and replenish the magazines. Keith found a great quantity of flour in them spoiled, all the cloaths that had been kept in them for years, laid in heaps, and rotten, and the arms eaten up with rust; and all this through the negligence of those who had the care of them. He then laid in a great store of corn, and put the magazines into better order. The disturbance that came on in Poland hindered the Empress from immediately attacking the Turks, but every thing being pacified in the rest

1735. of Europe, she judged it a favorable time to take revenge on the Ottomans, and the more so, for their being engaged in a disadvantageous war to them with Persia.

Russia did not, however, choose as yet to declare herself openly, it being necessary to complete first her projected arrangements. Her minister at Constantinople, Nepluew, who had resided there several years, was recalled, in order to receive from him personally the most authentic accounts of the circumstances in which the Porte then actually was. He had his audience of leave precisely at the juncture that the Turks had suffered a fresh blow from Thomas Kooley Khawn, which had a good deal abated of the Grand Vizier's haughtiness, insomuch that he treated him with all the politeness imaginable, endeavouring to excuse the invasions of the Tartars, with promise not only to hinder the like for the future, but to give all sort of satisfaction to Russia for the past. But these concessions came too late: the court of Petersburg had already taken its resolutions.

Expedition of lieutenant-general Leontew against the Turks.

The general count Weisbach, who commanded in Ukraine, had orders, in the month of August, to assemble twenty thousand men, and to hold them in readiness to march; but this general died just about the time that he was to begin the operations. Upon this, the court gave the command to the lieutenant-general, count Douglass; but he too happened to be under the circumstances of a burning fever when the commission was brought him. At length, general Leontew was put at the head of the troops. But by these messages to and from Petersburg, there were near six weeks time lost, and this general could not get ready to march before the beginning of October.

His instructions chiefly turned on the designs of Russia, to take satisfaction for the invasion of the Tartars. As to specifically this time of falling upon the Crimea, it had been chosen because the

Khawn

1735-

Khawn was gone out of it with his best troops, upon an invasion of the Daghestan, a province of Persia. The general then had orders to march into Crimea with all possible expedition, and put every thing to fire and sword; to deliver from slavery the subjects of Russia, and entirely to destroy and exterminate the Nogay-Tartars, who inhabit the deserts or *steps* between the Ukraïn and the Crimea, in huts which they transport from one place to another.

Leontew, for this expedition, had with him twenty thousand regulars, the most part dragoons, and eight thousand Cossacks. With this army he entered the *steps* the beginning of October. The first onset of this enterprize was auspicious enough. His parties found several hordes of the Nogay-Tartars, above four thousand of whom were massacred, and very few spared. They got from them a great quantity of cattle, and especially of sheep. But these advantages cost the Russians dear. This expedition had been entered upon in too advanced a season: the pasturages began to fail; the nights, which in that country are cold even in summer, began by this time to be intolerably so. A sickness got into the army, both among the men and the horses. Hardly a day passed without numbers dying. They were obliged too to drag the sick along with them in the army, for there were no towns in those deserts in which to form hospitals. The army was already in want of many necessaries, and had yet ten marches to make before it could arrive at the lines of Crimea. Leontew, with the generals and head officers of the regiments, held a council of war, in which it was resolved to return back. The army lay then encamped near Cammenoy Saton, and the night before it set out on its march back, the snow had fallen a foot thick on the ground, insomuch that above a thousand horses perished by it. The regiments then were in a very bad

1735. plight, when they returned into the Ukrain, where they took up their winter-quarters towards the end of November. This expedition cost above nine thousand men, and at least as many horses, without the Russians having obtained any advantage by it.

The court was extremely vexed at the miscarriage of this project, which they had judged impossible to fail. The plan of it had been furnished by the deceased count Weisbach; perhaps he would himself have executed it better than his successor, if he could have lived to take charge of it. The court had not been pleased with Leontew's conduct, but he justified himself before a court-martial.

While Leontew had been taken up with his unfortunate march, marshal Munich was arrived in the Ukrain, and had taken upon him the command of the troops. He then set to work with all imaginable diligence, in making the proper dispositions for the ensuing campaign. He began with inspecting the dock of Woronitz, and with ordering a new one to be made at Briansk, for building small vessels that might be of service on the Boristhenes, on the Don, and on the Black-Sea. On his return thence, he went to visit the lines of the Ukrain, which he took care should be repaired in many places. He also had all the fortifications, or rather towns and retrenched villages along the frontiers, put into a condition of defence against the insults of the Tartars. It will be easily enough conceived, that this required no great matter to accomplish, since two thousand Tartars will never so much as think of attacking a redoubt guarded by fifty men.

Lines of
the Uk-
rain.

Here, I presume, it will not be from my purpose to give an idea of the lines of the Ukrain. They had been projected by Peter I. to prevent the invasion of the Tartars. After his death, nothing was done in it, till the year 1731, that the
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making the lines was begun. They were finished in 1733, but the forts were not so till 1738. The right of these lines is covered by the Knieper, the left by the Donitz. They are in length above a hundred French leagues. At convenient distances there are forts; fifteen of which have an earthen parapet, fraised; a ditch full of water, a glacis, and a palisaded counterscarp. Between these forts there are, besides, some good redoubts and redans. There is a body of the militia, twenty thousand dragoons, to guard them, posted in the forts and villages built on purpose for them. In time of peace they receive one third less pay than the other troops; to make amends for which, they have lands distributed to them, which they cultivate. This militia is draughted from two hundred thousand families of gentlemen of small fortunes, who inhabit the provinces of Coursk and Rylsk. They are called in Russia *Odnodwortzi*; that is to say, people possessed of but one dwelling. They cultivate their grounds with their own hands. The two hundred thousand families, out of which this militia is draughted, are obliged to send every year a certain number of laborers to assist the militia in its work at the lines. And here let me transiently remark, that it is the finest body of troops in Russia. It is out of this body that the Empress Anne draughted the regiment of guards of Ishmaëlow, and the regiment of cuirassiers of count Munich. It was also by the counsel of Munich that this body of militia was formed or rather augmented, in 1731. For there were already six thousand of them on foot in the time of Peter I. and it was out of them that the regiment of Ishmaëlow was taken. These arrangements have not, however, been capable of preventing the Tartars from making incursions into the Ukrain, the extent being too great to be easily guarded. They have often passed and repassed these lines, without the militia having hindered

1735.

1735. dered them. It was only in this war that these vagabonds have been sometimes well beaten, and their plunder recovered from them, through the good dispositions made by marshal Munich.

The plan which the count had laid down for the campaign was, to begin with the siege of Azoph, and at the same time to make the greatest efforts against the Tartars of Crimea, so as to conquer, if possible, all their country, and make a settlement on the shore of the Black-Sea. In consequence of this arrangement, a great part of their magazines, which they had been so long preparing, became useless to them. Munich tried to remedy this, by having a great quantity of grain brought from Russia. But notwithstanding all the pains he took, things did not go on so fast as he wished.

The regiments had orders to prepare their equipages for the campaign. Munich introduced anew the use of pikes, which had been absolutely left off since the peace of New-Stadt. Every regiment was obliged to provide for itself three hundred and fifty, of eighteen feet long; and twenty *chevaux de frise*, of a fathom height, to defend the head of their camp. These *chevaux de frise* were of great service; for, as soon as the troops were entered into camp, they were planted, and the army was safe from all surprize, as they formed a kind of retrenchment. But the pikes were hardly ever of any use but to embarrass the soldiers in their march, the second rank being obliged to carry them; besides, their requiring the augmenting the equipages of each regiment with two waggon, to carry the pikes of the sick*.

The arrangements which the Russians were making in the Ukrain, and the march, however unfortunate, of general Leontew, gave the Porte

* Munich ordered also the officers and subalterns to quit their esponsions and halberds, and, in lieu of them, to take small fusils with bayonets, as being judged of more effectual service.

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uneasiness. They had received another blow on the side of Persia, and were afraid of having much the worst of it if they were attacked at the same time by Russia. The Grand Vizier sent for Mr. Wisniako, who had succeeded Nepluew, and treating him very graciously, declared to him, that he was fully determined to preserve peace with all the Christian powers. He even offered to oblige the Tartars to make good the damages they had done on the Russian frontiers. He spoke at the same time to Mr. Thalmann, ambassador from the court of Vienna, and to the other foreign ministers, to engage them to interpose their good offices for reconciling the differences between the two courts.

The grand Vizier did not, however, collaterally neglect to take all the necessary measures for putting the frontiers into a state of defence. He had the garrison of Azoph augmented, and sent a fleet to the Black-Sea to cover the places on that side.

The maritime powers tried to dissuade the Empress from beginning this war; but her resolution was already taken.

A part of the ministry of Petersburg, and especially count Osterman, were against the war. They made it appear, that the Russian nation could never hope to gain any the least advantage by a war with the Turks; that it would cost an immense waste of treasure and of blood, without any real good possible to result from it. Their opinion also was, that since the Tartars were specifically those that had committed hostilities on the provinces, revenge should be taken on them alone, without the making any formal declaration against the Porte: that, for this purpose, there should be got ready a competent number of light troops, to which there should be joined a body of regulars, to march, in the proper season, into Crimea, carry fire and sword into the country, as far as they could

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1735. could penetrate, and then retire into the Ukraïn. Of which if the Ottoman court should complain, the justification was ready, by answering, that there was no sort of intention to come to a rupture with them; but that, since after satisfaction had been frequently asked for the damages caused by the Tartar invasions, it was not obtained, possibly because the Porte, being otherwise embarrassed, was willing to keep measures with the Tartars, the Empress had found herself obliged to make use of the power she had in her hand, to punish those vagrant robbers, whose intention appeared to be not only to ruin the country, but to embroil Russia with the Porte; that otherwise the Empress did not desire any thing more than the living in a perfect good understanding with that court.

After the war was over, it appeared very clearly, that those who were of this opinion were entirely in the right. For Russia lost an infinite number of lives in the quarrel, and scarce got any advantage by it; as, among the advantages to the state, there can hardly be reckoned the glory that her army, or rather some individuals of it, acquired in the course of the war. But even marshal Munich himself was not of the opinion for beginning the war against the Turks, but after it was once declared, he was not sorry for its being still continued for some years.

1736.
Declarati-
on of war.

The count Osterman, by order of the Empress, wrote the Grand Vizier a long letter, which served at once for a manifesto and for a declaration of war. He entered therein, into a specification of all the infractions of the peace, committed by the Turks and Tartars, since the beginning of the current century, and concluded with saying, that her Majesty found herself obliged, to have recourse to the power which God had given her to employ it against the Porte, in order to provide for the security of her subjects against all insult; that she did not, however, take this resolution without regret,

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gret, and to procure to herself a due satisfaction in proportion to the injuries and losses which her empire had sustained; as also to obtain the establishment of a peace, on conditions capable of guarantying in future, in the most solid manner, the safety and tranquility of her states and subjects: that she would readily come into any reasonable terms of accommodation, to spare effusion of blood; so that if the Porte was in the same dispositions, it might acquaint her Majesty of it, and send its ministers to the frontiers, with powers ample enough to enter into an immediate negotiation.

The Grand Vizier received this letter of count Osterman just at the same time that he had advice of the siege being laid to Azoph, and that the Russian army was in full march into the Crimea. This determined the Porte to publish a manifesto at Constantinople, in which war was declared against Russia. The Grand Vizier had a numerous army assembled, with which he passed the Danube, but did not undertake any the least thing during the whole campaign. The Porte, in this war, observed a point of policy, which it had never before practised: for it permitted M. Wischniako, minister of Russia, to withdraw out of the Turkish Territories; whereas, formerly, it was constantly the custom of the Porte to put the ministers of such courts as they were going to war with, under an arrest, and to send them prisoners to the Seven Towers, until the peace.

Count Munich having made all the necessary arrangements for opening early the campaign, went, on the beginning of the month of March, to St. Anne, a fort which had been built on the frontiers of Turkey, about eight leagues from Azoph. He there assembled six regiments of infantry, three regiments of dragoons, and full three thousand Cossacks of the Don. The commandant of Azoph having intelligence of this, sent

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1736. sent one of his officers to the marshal to congratulate him on his arrival at the frontiers, feigning to have not the least apprehension of his attacking him; giving him all the assurances of friendship, with abundance of offers of service on his part; adding, that he hoped the same disposition from marshal Munich, as he could not entertain a belief that he was come into those parts with any bad intentions against the Porte, since there was no war declared, and that, on his side, he had never given any cause of complaint.

The Turkish officer was very civilly received by the marshal, who caused his forces to defile before him; but managed the parade of them in such a manner as to make this small force appear an army of twenty thousand men. After which he sent him back to Azoph without any positive answer, only charging him with some compliments to the Bashaw.

Hitherto it had actually been the custom to assemble every year before the fort of St. Anne, a body of troops, which commonly remained encamped there for six months.

On the 27th of March, Munich passed the Don, and began his march towards Azoph.

31st, Before break of day, the army being upon march, the major-general Sparreuter was detached with six hundred foot, and a party of Cossacks that were to serve for the vanguard, and to drive before them the advanced posts of the enemy.

The general had directed his march with so much precaution and silence, that he was got to the two castles, situate on the banks of the Don, near Azoph, without having been perceived by the enemy. These he attacked, and carried without the loss of a single man. The marshal, who had, at the same time, drawn near to the town with his army, seized several posts, caused redoubts to be

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be built at convenient distances to cover his troops from any sallies from the town, which he entirely blockaded on the land side.

The Bashaw had, for the whole day, kept firing cannon, for a signal to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, that he was going to be attacked, and that they should retire into the town; but all those people chose rather to seek shelter among the Tartars of Cuban.

April 3, The marshal ordered, in the night-time, the fort of Lutick to be attacked, which was also carried with very little loss, having had but a lieutenant and three men killed, and twelve wounded. They found there twenty cannons, iron and brass. Fifty Janizaries and an officer were taken prisoners in it, and as many, at least, had been killed. It was the same general Sparenreuter who also happened to be at the head of this detachment.

April 4, The general Lewastchew joined the camp with a regiment of dragoons, and three regiments of infantry. Munich gave him the command of the troops that were to continue the blockade of Azoph on the land side, till the arrival of count Lacy, who had in charge the siege of the place.

April 5, Count Munich left the camp before Azoph, in order to put himself at the head of the grand army that was forming near Zaritzinka, a little town situate at the extremity of the lines of the Ukraïn, at the distance of two leagues from the Boristhenes, or Dnieper. March into Crimea.

He arrived there the 18th. There were already at that rendezvous several regiments of foot and dragoons, under the orders of the Prince of Hesse Hombourg. The rest of the army got there by the 19th, 20th, and 21st. It consisted of twelve regiments of dragoons, fifteen of foot, ten of the militia, ten squadrons of Hussars, and twelve

1736. twelve thousand Cossacks, of whom five thousand were of the Don, three thousand Zaporavians, and the rest from the Ukrain; so that, on the whole, the army amounted to between fifty and fifty-four thousand men.

The generals, who served this campaign under Munich, were the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, grand master of the ordnance, the lieutenant-generals Leontew and Ishmaëlow, the major-generals Spiegel, Prince Repnin, Magnus Biron, Stofeln, Hein, Tarakanow, Lesley, and Aractachew.

The regiments received an allowance of two months bread, and the officers had orders to provide themselves for at least that time. The marshal would fain have taken with him a greater quantity of provisions for the army. There had been store enough laid in during the winter; but there was a want of carriages for more. Yet he would not for that delay the opening of the campaign, but left to the lieutenant-general Prince Troubeltzkoi the care of this concern, with orders to send him large convoys as soon as he could procure draught-beasts, and for himself to follow. Several regiments, that, having had their winter-quarters at too great a distance from the frontiers, could not arrive time enough at the rendezvous of the grand army, were ordered to escort the convoys. But the Prince Troubeltzkoi acted so remissly, and with so much slowness, that he had not finished every thing when the army returned into the Ukrain. The convoys he did send were too scanty to suffice for the subsistence of the army, which suffered greatly by famine, as will hereafter appear. Another great reason that determined Munich to take the field thus, was, that never having been in a war in that country, he knew nothing of the Crimea but from what he had learnt of the Cossacks, who had been there

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for their trade, and believed that, as it was a country abundantly fertile, the army would, as soon as it arrived there, find subsistence enough in the enemy's territories, without needing adventitious supplies.

The army was divided into five columns. The general Spiegel led the first, which made the vanguard, with three regiments of infantry, three regiments of dragoons, and a part of the light troops.

The Prince of Hesse Hombourg led the second.

The lieutenant-general Leontew, the third.

The lieutenant-general Ishmaëlow, the fourth.

The major-general Tarakanow, the fifth.

The marshal, for the most part, marched with the vanguard. Four of these columns were separate from each other about the distance of a march. The general Tarakanow followed more slowly, not having got to the rendezvous before the others were set out.

The army pursued its march along the Dnieper, or at but a small distance from that river, till near Kammenoi Saton, opposite to Setz, the capital of the Zaporavian Cossacks. It was there that the first columns assembled on the 10th of May.

The army made still five more marches without seeing any thing in the least of the enemy. At length, on the 17th of May, being incamped on the small river Droitzka, a party, as near as could be guessed, of a hundred men, shewed themselves at about half a league distance from the advanced posts. The Cossacks instantly mounted, and pursued them, but could not overtake one. The next day, a more considerable body of the enemy drew near the right wing of the army, and retreated, without so much as coming to any skirmish with the Cossacks.

May 19, The Marshal sent off five detachments, each composed of four hundred dragoons, and

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and one hundred and fifty Cossacks; and as this country was one vast plain, these detachments had orders to march at certain distances, within view of each other, so as occasionally to join that which should be nearest the enemy. General Spiegel had all these divisions under his command. They had not marched above two leagues before they met with a party of two hundred Nogay-Tartars, who fled the instant that they saw them from afar; but the Cossacks overtook them, killed some, and made two prisoners. The general, having orders to get as near the enemy as he possibly could, had hardly proceeded two leagues farther, before he was obliged to unite all the detachments as quick as he could, as there was a body of twenty thousand men advancing upon him in full march. Spiegel had but just time to form a square of his dragoons, ordering the first rank to dismount, which found itself entirely surrounded. The enemies attacked with the most horrid yells, and poured a cloud of arrows on them. The dragoons, without being in the least disconcerted, reserved their fire, never discharging their pieces but when they were sure of their mark. This kept the Tartars in such awe, that they durst not approach within a hundred paces of the square. They contented themselves with harrassing the troops on all sides, with popping off some carbines, and with letting fly at them a prodigious quantity of arrows. Marshal Munich, being apprized of the danger in which general Spiegel was, put himself at the head of three thousand dragoons and two thousand Cossacks, and marched directly, with general Leontew, to his relief. The colonel Dewitz, with ten companies of grenadiers and all the piquets of foot, followed close after. As soon as the enemy saw them approach they retreated with great precipitation, leaving above two hundred

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hundred of their dead upon the spot. Spiegel had stood their attack for above six hours running, and had not above fifty killed and wounded; among these last were he himself, and colonel Weißbach, and both with arrows. This action had a great effect on both sides. The Tartars began to stand more in awe of the Russians than they had ever done, who on the other hand, conceived a hearty contempt for their enemies: and this first impression it was that greatly contributed to the victories which the Russians afterwards gained over them in the course of this war.

It was known from the prisoners, that the Khawn, with his whole army, consisting of above a hundred thousand men, was encamped at twenty leagues distance from this spot, and that the body which had retreated was commanded by the Kalga Sultan*, who had been sent to reconnoitre the Russians, of whose march the Khawn had not been apprized above two days before.

The army had all advanced to the field of Spiegel's battle, the name of which was *Czornia Dolina*, or *Black-soil*. Here they encamped.

May 21, The army, for the first time, marched in form of a hollow-square, having the baggage in the middle; and this order was observed during the whole war, whenever the army found itself near the enemy.

Some more prisoners, whom the Cossacks took, confirmed that the army of the enemy was at least a hundred thousand strong; adding withal, that all the inhabitants had been obliged to take arms to defend their lines.

* The *Kalga Sultan*, is the title of the generalissimo of the Tartars. It is the first post in that country: the Khawn generally bestows it on his brother, or on the nearest of his relations, and the *Kalga Sultan* commonly succeeds to the Khawn.

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The army encamped at a place called *Tatarfski Koloderi*, which signifies *the Tartar's well*. There is no running water for above four leagues round; but, on digging the earth, you find very good water, at not more than a foot from the surface.

The army remained a few days in this camp; and, on the 24th, the Cossacks intercepted two couriers coming from Constantinople, upon whom were found some letters from the grand Vizier to the Khawn, in which he absolutely cut off all hopes from him of receiving any succours for that campaign. There were also some expressions of anger against the Tartars for drawing upon the Porte this new war.

On the 26th of May, the army made a march of six French leagues, and encamped on the banks of the small river of Kalantfchi. Scarce had it marched out of its former camp, before the square of them was surrounded with Tartars, who attacked them on all sides, making hideous outcries. The Russians fired no small arms at them, but played their field-pieces upon them with such success, that, at the first shot, they killed a great number. This struck such terror into them, that they fled in a hurry, and took shelter behind their lines.

May 28, The army pitched its camp within a cannon-shot of Precop. The following days were employed in erecting batteries; and they began to bombard the town.

As soon as the army was arrived at the lines of Crimea, Munich sent a letter to the Khawn, acquainting him, that he was sent on the part of the Empress to punish the Tartars for the frequent incursions they had made into the Ukrain; that he was proceeding to execute this order, and lay all Crimea waste, but that if the Khawn would submit to the protection of her imperial Majesty, receive a Russian garrison in Precop, and oblige himself

1736.



himself to acknowledge the sovereignty of Russia, he would immediately enter into a negotiation, and cease all hostilities; but that the surrender of the town of Precop was an indispensable preliminary. In answer to this letter the Khawn, on the 30th, sent a Mirza, or Tartar gentleman, to count Munich, to represent to him, that no war having been declared, he was astonished that they should come to attack him in his own country; that the Tartars of Crimea had never made any irruption into Russia; that if any there had been, it must have been committed by the Nogays, who, though they were under the protection of the Tartars of Crimea, these had never been able to keep those vagabonds in order, so that Russia ought to confine her resentment to the guilty, and punish at pleasure all that she could lay her hands on; as, in fact, a beginning had been made with them the last year; that as to himself, he was too much engaged with the court of Constantinople to break with it; and that as to Precop, were he even willing to surrender it, the garrison would not consent, consisting, as it did, of Turks, and being independent of his orders: he entreated of the marshal that he would in the mean while suspend hostilities, offering to enter into immediate negotiation; concluding withal, that if he was attacked he would defend himself as well as he was able.

The marshal finding there was nothing to be done with these Tartars but sword in hand, sent the Mirza back with this reply, that since his master would not acknowledge the favor done him by the court of Russia, in the offer of these mild terms, he would soon see his country ransacked, and his towns burnt; that Tartar faith was too well known to be trusted on nothing but the bare proposal of a negotiation. The Tartar-messenger being dispatched, the marshal ordered the army to hold itself in readiness for marching.

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1736.
Attack,
and taking
of the lines
of Precop.

As soon as the tattoo was beat the regiments stood to their arms, and marched. None were left in the camp but the sick, and ten men of a company to guard the baggage. The army marched to the right in six columns. The fifteen hundred men that had been allotted for the batteries had a thousand added to them, with orders to approach the right of the lines, and to make a false attack an hour before day, to draw the attention of the enemy that way.

The army marched all night in a profound silence. They rested about two hours, waiting the break of day, at about a quarter of a league's distance from the lines. The Tartars, who had known nothing of the march of the army, and who had bent the greatest part of their forces to the side of the false attack, were much surprised when they saw the Russian army formed in six columns, in order of battle, on their left.

The Russian troops marched with all imaginable boldness to the attack. The fire of the enemy was at first extremely brisk; and the soldiers were greatly astonished on coming to the side of the ditch, at finding it so deep and so broad; but as it was dry they threw themselves into it, and, pressing on, assisted one another to clamber with their pikes and bayonets; the artillery, in the mean while, keeping up a constant fire against the parapet.

The Tartars, seeing that the affair began to be serious, did not wait for the soldiers mounting to the top, but betook themselves to flight, abandoning their camp, which was poorly enough provided. There did not then remain any the least impediment to the troops in their passing the lines, which are extraordinary enough, as may be judged by the following summary description.

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Their length is about seven wersts, or near two French leagues, extending from the sea of Azoph, or *Palus Mæotis*, to the Black-Sea. There is but one entrance to them from the highway of the city of Precop, which is comprehended in the lines. Along the lines there are six towers, defended with cannon. The ditch is seventy-two feet broad, and forty-two deep. The height, from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the parapet, is seventy feet. The thickness of the parapet is in proportion. Five thousand men had, for several years together, been at work to put the lines in this condition, so that the Tartars imagined them inexpugnable. True it is, that any other troops than they might have made the passing them very difficult, and yet the entry into Crimea would not have been the less practicable, if they had not been passed. For it was afterwards known, that the arm of the sea of Azoph, joining to these lines, is so near dryness in summer, as not to have above three feet water, so that the lines may be turned. The count Lacy entered Crimea by that way, the two campaigns following.

The towers, which, as I have remarked, are along the lines, still retained their garrison, consisting of Janissaries. That which was next to the army continued to fire cannon, and killed some of the Russians. Upon which, Munich ordered the Prince of Hesse Hombourg to send against it an officer, with a detachment to storm it. The captain of the grenadiers * of the Regiment of Petersburg, happening to be near the Prince when he received the order, desired to be sent on this occasion. The Prince granted his request, and he marched with sixty men of his company. The gate was forced open with hatchets, notwithstanding the constant firing of the Turks. The cap-

* *Manstein*, author of these Memoirs.

1736. tain entered with his men, offering to give good quarter to the enemy. They accepted it, and began to lay down their arms, when a grenadier, giving a stroke with his bayonet to a Janizary, the other Turks, irritated at this action, took to their sabres again, and stood to their defence. They killed six grenadiers, and wounded sixteen, including the captain; in revenge of which, the whole hundred and sixty, who were the garrison of this tower, were, every man, massacred. Those of the other towers were wiser; they fled in time, and followed the Tartars.

Surrender
of Precop.

Marshal Munich next ordered the Bashaw, commander of Precop, to be summoned to surrender the place. He asked a truce of twenty-four hours to consider of it, which was granted him.

June 1, The Bashaw sent two officers to the marshal, to demand a free passage out with his garrison to go and join the Khawn of Tartary. But it was insisted that they should surrender as prisoners of war. However, upon his refusal, and after several parleys, it was promised him, that he should be escorted to the first seaport, to be embarked there with his garrison and attendants for Turkey, upon engaging not to serve for two years to come against the Russian army. But this capitulation was not observed: on coming out of the town, the commandant, with his whole garrison, of full two thousand five hundred and fifty-four men, were made prisoners of war; and when he complained of this treatment, he was told for answer, that the Porte and the Khawn had detained above two hundred Russian merchants, contrary to the stipulation made in the last treaty, for which reason they would not be released till those people were set at liberty.

The place of the Turkish garrison was now supplied by eight hundred grenadiers. Count Munich

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nich took up his quarters in the town; the magazines in which were not over well provided. There were found sixty cannon in the place and in the towers, some with the Russian arms upon them, that had been lost in the last unfortunate march that Gallitzin had made into Crimea in the last century. The town of Precop contains about eight hundred houses, the greatest part of which are of wood; the streets are, as in all the Turkish towns, very narrow; the walls are flanked with towers, built in the ancient manner of fortification, but of a kind of a bad sand-stone that crumbles away at the first cannon-shot. In short, Precop was in no condition to stand a siege.

The marshal put the regiment of Beloser into the town, and made Dewitz, colonel of that regiment, commandant of the place. He left him, besides, six hundred Cossacks, and made the other requisite dispositions for the guard of the lines.

On the fourth of June, lieutenant general Leontew was detached with ten thousand regulars, and three thousand Cossacks, towards Kinburn, a small fortified town on the side of the mouth of the Knieper, opposite to Ockzakow, with orders to take it, and hinder the Tartars of Budziach from passing the river.

Gen. Leontew sent one detachment to take Kinburn.

On the same day, the marshal held a council of war on the operations that were to be resolved on for the remainder of the campaign. The opinion of almost all the generals was, to encamp with the army about Precop, to wait there the end of the campaign, and only to send parties into the country to lay it waste. But Munich, whose mind did not run upon any thing less than the conquest of Crimea, did not relish this counsel. He remonstrated to them, that they would gain nothing by that; that the reduction of Precop would be of no service if they did not pursue the victory; that it was too dangerous to send off small parties; as they could not penetrate any considerable way into

1736. into the country without being cut off or defeated. The generals represented thereon, that the army not having bread for above twelve days, there was a necessity for at least waiting for the arrival of the first convoys with provisions. To this Munich rejoined, that as the army was in an enemy's country, it was but right to endeavour to make it subsist at the expence of the Tartars; that the capital advantage which the court had to expect from that campaign was, their not giving a moment's breathing time to those robbers, and the ruining their whole country, if it was not found practicable to gain a more solid settlement in it. At the same time, he ordered the army to be ready for marching the next day. It is from that moment that marshal Munich and the Prince Hesse Homburgh ceased to be friends: the conduct of that Prince, during this campaign and the ensuing one, did not do him much honor.

The army
enters farther
into
Crimea.

It was on the 5th of June that the marshal left the adjacent parts of Precop to penetrate into the center of the Crimea. The Tartars had entirely surrounded the army, who kept on constantly marching in a square; they harassed them incessantly, but always at a good distance; and if they approached within reach of the cannon, it was only firing a few shot at them, and they presently scampered away.

June the 8th, they might have gained a considerable advantage over the Russians, if they had but known how to avail themselves of the opportune moment. The army marching on the road of Korlow, was arrived at an arm of the sea, called Baltstchick, which it was necessary to pass. They had no bridge; the Cossacks discovered several fords, which the army passed, but this made an opening of more than fifteen hundred paces in the square. The Tartars seeing this, a troop of about two hundred horse rushed into it, full speed; but,

but, instead of attacking the troops, they ran strait to the baggage for plunder, and their army, which was not above a cannon-shot distant, remained tranquil spectators; this gave time to the Russians to close their ranks again, and a good number of the enemy were killed, the rest had courage enough to cut their way out with their sabres.

On the 9th, the army halted. The general having notice that the enemy were encamped at not above three leagues from him, detached in the evening all the grenadiers in the army, under general Hein, with fifteen hundred dragoons, and two thousand Cossacks of the Don, with order to march in the night, with all possible precaution, and to try to surprise the enemies by break of day.

If any other than general Hein had been pitched upon for this expedition, it would, in all probability, have succeeded, and the best part of the enemy's army would have been destroyed; but this man, instead of hastening his march, amused himself half the night with marshalling his troops, and then kept marching very slowly. The Cossacks of the Don, who were gone on before, fell, by break of day, upon the camp of the Tartars, whom they found, for the most part, asleep, and immediately put all to the sword that were in their way. In the mean time, the alarm spreading through the camp of the enemies, they ran to their horses, mounted, and seeing they had none but Cossacks to deal with, attacked them in their turn, and obliged them to retreat with considerable loss; they would even have totally defeated them, if they had not perceived the march of the detachment under general Hein. Then, indeed, they themselves fled, and abandoned their camp, with a great quantity of forage, and a number of tents.

The marshal had, at the first break of day, begun his march with the whole army; and, coming up,

1736. up, pitched his camp on the ground which the enemies had just quitted. The loss had been nearly equal on both sides; about three hundred men of each; the greatest difference was, that the enemies had lost several officers of distinction. Hein, who had failed of executing the marshal's orders, was put under arrest, and tried by a court martial, who condemned him to be degraded from his rank and nobility, and to serve the rest of his life in quality of a private dragoon in the militia. This sentence was literally executed: a punishment rigorous enough for one single act of cowardice, or perhaps only of stupidity, for want of knowing how to make the proper dispositions: but such strictness is indispensably necessary in Russia, where instances of mildness do not make so much impression as examples of severity, none being accustomed to do any thing but as they are compelled to it by force.

Though the project of surprising and defeating the Tartar army had not succeeded according to desire, they durst not, however, after that, encamp so near the Russian army, and would let it pass unmolested for many days together, never shewing themselves but in small parties, and at a great distance.

The taking
of Korlow.

The army still continued its march towards Korlow, and on the 15th of June arrived within two leagues of the town, in which they saw a great fire.

On the 16th, count Munich detached all the grenadiers of the army, with the Cossacks of the Don, and the Zaporavians, under the command of the general Magnus Biron, to attack Korlow. They found the gates of the town open, and all the suburbs burnt, in which the Tartars had been, who had set fire to the greatest part of the houses belonging to the Christian merchants. All the Turkish inhabitants had retreated towards Bachtiserai, and the Turkish garrison had embarked on

board

board thirty vessels for Constantinople. There had remained in the town only about forty Armenian merchants.

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Korlow has good stone-walls, flanked with great towers; the ditch is cut into the rock, and very broad. The port is very safe and spacious, capable of containing two hundred vessels. It is the most trading town of the Crimea. There are two thousand five hundred houses in it, most of them of stone. It has some fine mosques, and the Christians have a church in the suburbs. The Turks commonly keep a garrison of three thousand men in it. The inhabitants had, on their retreating, endeavoured as much as possible to conceal their effects, burying them under ground, or throwing them into wells, but the Cossacks and soldiers soon knew how to find them out, and made a very great booty of gold and silver, pearls, rich stuffs, cloaths, &c. There was particularly so great a quantity of copper vessels, that it was impossible to carry them all away. There were, besides, found one and twenty brass cannon, and a prodigious quantity of lead; as also such great stores of rice and wheat as were sufficient to have formed a magazine for an army much more numerous than that of Russia. Marshal Munich caused an allowance of these for thirty-four days to be distributed to the whole army, for it had already begun to be in want of bread. Water had also been very scanty on the road from Precop to Korlow. The Tartars, in their flight from the villages, not content with consuming and burning all the forages, had spoiled all the water of the wells, by throwing all sort of filth into them, and river-water is very scarce in those countries; there not being from Precop to Korlow, which is a distance of about thirty-five French leagues, but three streams of fresh water; for in the Crimea, there are lakes of salt water, from which issue rivulets, the water of which is not drinkable. It may

1736. may easily be imagined that this made the troops suffer a good deal, and that diseases could not fail of getting among them. But what compleated the enfeebling them, was, that the common soldiers, who are not used to eat any other than fourish bread, made of rice, were obliged to eat the sweeter bread of wheat, which they ground themselves in hand-mills that were taken in the villages through which the army passed, and which were all reduced to ashes. The Cossacks had found means to carry off ten thousand sheep, and some hundreds of horned cattle, which rejoiced the soldiers extremely, who had not eaten a bit of flesh-meat for fifteen days past.

On the 18th of June, major-general Lesly arrived at the army, with a convoy he had brought of some provisions from the Ukrain, under the escort of two thousand men. He had been on the 11th attacked by the whole army of the enemy, but he had made so good an use of two field-pieces which he had taken with him from Precop, that the enemy, after having harassed him for four hours together, and lost a great number of their people, had been obliged to retreat. The Tartars had come as far as the *chevaux de frise*, so near, that the general killed one of them with his own hand, by a stroke of his sword.

The army remained encamped five days near Korlow, to take rest, and to have some bread baked. On the 21st, they resumed their march for Bachtschi-Seraï, keeping along the shore of the Black-Sea.

Since the troops had entered the Crimea, they had never yet found water or forage in such plenty as now; for the enemy, not having imagined that they would take this road, had spoiled nothing. Munich, to deceive them the more, had it given out, that he would return to Precop by another road. The Tartars bit at this, and made a great waste on the other side of the country.

On

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On the 22d, the marshal dispatched the lieutenant-general Ishmaëlow, and the major-general Lesly, with two regiments of dragoons, four regiments of foot, and some Cossacks, to the left of the army, to dislodge the enemies from some villages. They made a greater resistance than had been expected, but, at length, they were forced, and put to flight. There was found in them a great quantity of cattle, which were brought to the army, and distributed to the soldiers. The Russians had, at this rencounter, an officer and two Cossacks killed, a major and twenty men wounded.

On the same day, intelligence was got from the prisoners, that the Khawn expected six or seven thousand Turks, which the captain Bashaw was to send him from the fleet that was arrived in the port of Caffa, not having been able to undertake any thing against the Russians before Azoph.

On the 27th, the army reached the streights of the defiles that cover that country about Bachtfschi-Seraï. The enemies were discovered encamped opposite to them, advantageously on the eminences. As the road, unavoidably to be passed for getting to Bachtfschi-Seraï, was extremely difficult, it was necessary to steal this march upon the enemy; the marshal was then resolved to go on with none but the flower of his army, leaving the baggages and the sick, with the rest of the troops, behind, under the orders of the major-general Spiegel. As soon as the retreat was beat in the evening, he began his march, which they continued with so much order and silence, that he turned the camp of the enemies, without their knowing in the least any thing of the matter; so that they were much surprised at seeing, by the break of day, the Russians just by Bachtfschi-Seraï. A body of Tartars, intermixed with Janissaries, advanced with fury directly against the Cossacks of the Don, and Wodimer's regiment of foot posted near them: they attacked

The taking of
Bachtfschi-Seraï.

1736. attacked with such vigor, that they made the Cossacks give way, and took a cannon of that regiment: but the marshal causing five other regiments to advance, with some pieces of cannon, under major-general Lesley, the enemies could not long stand the fire, but fled, and left behind them the cannon which they had taken.

After the retreat of the enemy, Munich sent one fourth of the army into the town, to plunder it, while the rest remained under arms. All the inhabitants had quitted the town, and carried off the best of their effects into the mountains; notwithstanding which, there was still a considerable booty made.

Bachtschi-Seraï signifies in English the palace of the garden, and is the usual residence of the Khawn of Crimea. It is situate in a deep valley, and contains about two thousand houses, of which one third belongs to the Christian Greeks, who have a church there. Here is also a mission of Jesuits, but as they had been obliged to follow the Khawn, their dwelling and library were as little spared as the other houses. The palace of the Khawn, which contained several spacious buildings, tolerably good and very neat, was, as well as the whole town, reduced to ashes. It had no fortification.

As soon as the enemies had been repulsed from about Bachtschi-Seraï, they detached a large body of troops to attack general Spiegel and the baggage. They found the Cossacks of Ukrain out of the camp, busy at foraging: these they attacked, and had some advantage over them, killing two hundred of them, and making some prisoners; but they could make no impression on the regulars; they attacked several times the barricades, formed with the baggage-waggons, but were always repulsed with loss, so that, at length, they abandoned their enterprize.

June

June 29, The army quitted the neighbourhood of Bachtſchi Seraï, and encamped on the banks of the river Almas, where it was joined by the baggage. 1736.

July 3, The marshal detached lieutenant-general Iſhmaëlow and the major-general Biron, with eight thousand regulars, two thousand Cossacks, and ten pieces of cannon, to attack the town of *Ach-Metzid*, or *Sultan Seraï* (this last signifies the palace of the Sultan) being the residence of the Kalga Sultan, and of the principal Mirzas. They found hardly any one in it, the inhabitants having quitted it two days before. All the provisions were carried to the camp; the town itself, which contained about eighteen hundred houses, mostly of wood, was reduced to ashes. The enemies attacked this detachment in their return, and met with their usual treatment. The Russians had four soldiers and six Cossacks killed, and a few wounded.

Since that day, the army never saw the enemy but at a distance, and divided into small parties. A Georgian, who had made his escape from slavery, brought advice, that the Turks were retreated to Gaffa, and the Tartars into the mountains, in the resolution of not fatiguing themselves any longer to no purpose, in disputing the passes, but only to have small parties of observation follow the Russian army.

Hitherto the army had constantly kept the road to Caffa, and the marshal would have been very glad to make himself master of it, and to have formed there a solid settlement, but the army was almost visibly diminishing; a third of it was sick, and the rest of it was so weak, that they could hardly draw their legs after them. I have above set forth some of the reasons of this, to which was added, the heat, which became excessive; so that it was decided for returning to Precop, to give the troops rest and refreshment from the overpowering heats.

The

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The enemies had laid the whole country waste round Caffa, and burnt all the villages, to deprive the Russians of all subsistence, a measure they much repented, when they saw them take the way to Precop.

July 17, The army encamped near Precop, and were extremely rejoiced at finding biscuits there for fifteen days allowance, which the major-general Arachtschew had brought from Ukrain, with two regiments of dragoons. On this occasion, a good number of victuallers were arrived there, with wine and other provisions, so that the troops, after all fatigues they had undergone, saw a kind of abundance reign in the camp.

July 18, Colonel Wedell arrived, with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, who had been upon the Don; under whose escort there came another convoy of provisions, but an inconsiderable one. Forages being very scarce in the lines, Wedell had orders to encamp in the desert, six leagues from Precop. The marshal, on his arrival at Precop, received advice from general Leontew, that he had, with his body of troops, advanced to near Kinburn, whence he had sent an aid-de-camp to summon the commandant, who had immediately entered into negotiation, and had surrendered the place upon the terms granted to him of retreating to Ockzakow with his garrison, consisting of two thousand Janissaries, so that the taking this town did not cost Russia a single man; and, indeed, in the whole expedition, there had not been above three or four men killed in any skirmish. Two hundred and fifty Russians, detained in slavery at Kinburn, were delivered; and, in the town there were found forty-five brass cannon, and three thousand horses.

The Cossacks had carried off from the country thirty thousand sheep, and four or five thousand horned cattle, which the inhabitants had hid in
the

the woods. After the reduction of Kinburn, 1736. Leontew remained quiet with his troops, encamped under that fort, having nothing to do, as neither the Turks nor the Tartars of Budziack presented themselves to pass the Dnieper.

The Turkish garrison of Precop, made prisoners as above let forth, who had been carried with the army in all its marches, were sent to the Ukrain, under a good escort; for the Khawn not having released the Russian merchants whom he kept prisoners, against the stipulation of the last treaties, the court of Petersburg thought it just to use reprisals with this garrison.

Upon advice which the marshal received, that the arm of the sea of Azoph, adjoining to the lines of Precop, is fordable in many places, and that the Tartars were, by that way, sending great detachments to attack the redoubts, which had been built in the deserts, to facilitate the communication with the Ukrain, as also the arrival thence of the convoys, he sent general Spiegel, with five regiments of dragoons and two thousand Cossacks, to hinder the enemies getting out of the Crimea, and to examine well the passes. Gen. Spiegel sent with a detachment.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that the marshal could take against the Tartars, these vagrant robbers found means, from time to time, to carry off horses and cattle from the army, especially since its return under Precop; for the forage failing all round the camp, they were obliged to send the horses to the other side of the lines, at six leagues distance from the camp. This, it is true, was never done but under a good guard, and yet the Tartars surprised some, and in fifteen days carried off from the army more than fifteen hundred horses. Pursuits were often sent after them, but there was no overtaking them.

To

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To economise the provisions and forage, which became every day more and more scarce, the Zaporavian Cossacks, and those of the Ukrain, had permission to return home. The former had orders to send often parties toward Ockzakow and Bender, to get intelligence of the designs of the Turks, and of where their army lay.

The army
quits the
Crimea,
and re-
turns to
the Uk-
rain.

The marshal, having represented to the court the impossibility of maintaining himself in the Crimea, received orders to return into the Ukrain with his army. To facilitate his march, he detached major-general Biron, with six regiments of dragoons and two thousand Cossacks of the Don, to escort the sick.

August 25, Three thousand men were ordered to raze the lines in several places, and to demolish the towers. There were mines also applied to the walls of Precop.

August 27, All the artillery and the garrison were withdrawn from the place, and, on the 28th, in the morning, the Russian army departed out of the Crimea, marching in two columns. About an hour afterwards, the mines sprung, and threw down a part of the walls, and some of the houses of the town of Precop.

The army marched on very quietly, from its leaving Crimea, to the 27th of September, that it arrived on the banks of the Samara, without the enemies having once dared to attack them. They were too much taken up with their joy, at seeing themselves delivered from such troublesome guests, and had, besides, too much to do to get themselves into some order again, for them to think of undertaking to molest the Russians in their retreat.

Sept. 2, General Leontew rejoined the army, with the body of troops under his command, and brought to it twenty thousand out of the thirty
thou-

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thousand sheep they had taken. They were distributed among the army. Spiegel, who had been sent to hinder the Tartars from passing the fords of the sea at Azoph, had orders to march strait to Backmouth, and to reconnoitre well the ground there, in order to know whether it was easier to march into Crimea by that way, or along the Dnieper. The result was, that they would not only, by that way, be gainers, in point of distance, but that the marches were even more commodious as to wood and water. Accordingly, marshal Lacy, who commanded in the two following campaigns the expeditions into Crimea, ever took that road.

Spiegel had been attacked one only time upon his march, but having repulsed the enemy with a considerable loss, they durst not return to it.

The marshal being arrived at the river Samara, took a review of all his regiments, and found those that had gone through the march with him into Crimea greatly changed. All of them had been complete * at the opening of the campaign, and now there was not one that could muster six hundred men under his colors, so that the one half of this army had perished in this one campaign: and what is the more remarkable, not two thousand men had been killed or taken by the enemy, including even the loss of the Cossacks. There were none but the body of troops detached under lieutenant-general Leontew that were in any state of preservation, and he had had no loss, having remained quiet in the camp at Kinbourn after the taking that town.

* A regiment of foot at that time had two battalions, and was composed of twelve hundred and eighty rank and file men; and with the officers, subalterns, &c. amounted to fifteen hundred and seventy-five men. The complement of a regiment of dragoons, including officers, subalterns and private, was twelve hundred and thirty-one.

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The regiments were sent back into winter-quarters in the Ukrain, but care was taken to distribute them so, that they could assemble at the shortest warning, in case of the Tartars attempting in winter an invasion of the Russian territories.

Continuation of the
siege of
Azoph.

While the marshal Munich had been engaged in the Crimea, general Lacy had carried on the siege of Azoph, of which I shall here set down the most remarkable events.

Munich having quitted the body of troops appointed to form this siege, general Lewaschew, who was to have the command of it till the arrival of count Lacy, strengthened more and more the blockade, and took particular care to fortify his camp, so as not to have any insult to fear from the besieged; their garrison being at the least as numerous as the regular troops the Russians had before the place.

April 14, Three hundred horse, and as many foot of the garrison, made a sally to carry off a convoy of a hundred and fifty waggons, that were escorted by only a lieutenant and a hundred men; this officer, seeing, from a good distance, the Turks coming towards him, formed a retrenchment of these waggons, and defended himself so well for two hours together, that he gave the Cossacks time to come to his assistance, and the enemy was driven back to the town again.

The besiegers, not discouraged by this bad success, ventured, two days afterwards, another sally, of a thousand Janisaries, and five hundred horse, who came to attack the redoubts which had been built to strengthen the place. Their cavalry fell impetuously on the Cossacks of the Don, posted between the redoubts, while the Janisaries attacked one of the redoubts with all the bravery imaginable, but they were several times repulsed, and at length put to flight, and pursued to the town. The enemy lost above
a hun-

a hundred men in this affair, together with the commanding officer of the sally. The besiegers had in all but seventeen men killed and wounded.

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May 6, Almost the whole garrison sallied out of the town to attack the Russian army. The general, who had had previous information of it, posted the Cossacks of the Don in an ambuscade, where they waited till the greatest part of the enemies were passed; then rushing out on a sudden, attacked the enemies at once flank and rear, overthrew all in their way, and obliged them to fly for shelter to their walls, after having suffered a considerable loss. After this rencounter, the besieged remained quiet for some time.

May 15, General Lacy arrived at length at the camp before Azoph, having narrowly escaped being taken by the Tartars.

This general, whom the Empress had, in the month of February, raised to the rank of marshal, had commanded the auxiliary troops sent to the Emperor of Germany. These he had orders to quit, and to repair to Azoph, to take charge of the siege. To accelerate his voyage and arrival at the army, he had taken but a small escort of Cossacks, who rode before his post-chaise, at some hundreds of paces distance. In the way from the lines of the Ukrain to Izoum, it is necessary to pass a desert of about three French leagues in length. The escort was attacked by a party of Tartars, who were hovering thereabouts, and all of it dispersed or taken, so that the marshal had scarce time to save himself on horseback. He owed his escape then purely to the passion which the Tartars had for pillaging his carriage; for without that retardment it would have been impossible for him to have got off.

On the same day that Lacy arrived before Azoph, the trenches were opened, and pushed with great vivacity.

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The generals, who commanded under the marshal Lacy, were the general Lewaschew, the lieutenant-general count Douglass, and the major-generals Brigny, senior, Brilly, Sparreuter, and Brigny, junior.

May 19, The vice-admiral Bredal, who had come down the Don with fifteen galleys, nine prahms, and a number of other vessels, arrived near Azoph, having the heavy artillery or battering pieces on board, which were immediately landed. The same day a reinforcement of four regiments of foot and two of dragoons arrived at the camp.

May 20, Major-general Brigny was ordered, with four hundred foot, and a hundred and fifty Cossacks, to seize a post near the retrenchment that covered the town. He succeeded, and made a lodgment there. Upon which the enemies made a sally with three hundred horse, and five hundred Janisaries, to retake it. They attacked with such fury, that the detachment of the besiegers was obliged to retreat, with a good deal of loss: but Brigny being sustained in time, the enemy were, on their part, repulsed, having a considerable number of men killed. After that the artillery was landed, the marshal ordered the vice-admiral Bredal to post himself with his fleet in such a manner as to batter the town on its side to the water. This order was extremely well executed; the prahms never ceased, night or day, battering the place, and throwing bombs into it.

The Turkish fleet, under the captain Bashaw Dgianam Codja, came to the Palus Mæotis, to succour Azoph, but could undertake nothing, the mouth of the Don being almost entirely barred with the sands and shallows, so that in the deepest places there were not above three or four feet water: whereas the Russian fleet was so advantageously posted, that the captain Bashaw could not send any the least assistance to Azoph,
either

either in sloops, or other flat-bottomed vessels, and consequently was obliged to go away without doing any thing. It is, however, these shallows at the mouth of the Don that were the cause of the Russian fleet's not acting more effectually on the sea of Azoph, as there was no getting any vessels into it, but double sloops and other small flat-bottomed vessels, with which admiral Bredal assisted the two next campaigns, as will be subsequently shewn.

Lacy, willing to spare his men, had the works carried on only by the sap, which he continued till the nineteenth of June. In the mean while, the besieged made several sallies, but without any effect.

June 14, The besiegers having advanced to within forty paces of the palisaded line, the Turks made a grand sally upon them, drove them from the trenches, and filled up a part of their works. Marshal Lacy and general Douglass, having hastened to their assistance with fresh troops, made the enemies be attacked, who were not only repulsed, but dispossessed of a post which they had maintained within twenty paces of the palisades. The Russians instantly made a lodgment there, and began to raise three batteries on that spot. The Russians, however, lost a good many men in that encounter; the marshal himself was wounded in the thigh with a gun-shot, and had run a great risque of being taken prisoner, as he advanced rather too far, to animate his men: he had been surrounded by the Turks.

The enemies, not choosing to have the besiegers in quiet possession of the post they had taken from them, made continually sallies; but as they were expected, there was a double guard prepared to receive them: they were always repulsed, and the lodgment and batteries were at length established.

June

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June 18, A bomb-shell fell on one of their greatest powder-magazines, situated in the middle of the place. Five moschs, and more than a hundred houses, were shaken down with the explosion, and about three hundred men lost their lives by it.

The work of the sap was continued till the 28th of June, when the besiegers found themselves at the foot of the retrenchment, the enemies having disputed the ground with them inch by inch. Lacy, who began to be tired with the length of the siege, ordered colonel Lockman, with eight hundred grenadiers, seven hundred fusileers, and six hundred pioneers, to force the line. The attack began at midnight, when the besieged defended themselves with great obstinacy, and with springing two mines, which did no damage. They were, however, obliged at length to betake themselves to flight, and abandon some cannon. They were pursued to the gates of the town, and the besiegers made a lodgment in the retrenchment. The Russians had no more than twenty men killed and wounded.

June 29, The Bashaw commandant sent a letter by an officer to the marshal, to request a capitulation.

July 1, Four Turkish officers, deputed by the commandant, arrived at the camp, to settle the capitulation. Lacy insisted a good while on the garrison's surrendering prisoners of war: but the commandant having constantly answered, that rather than yield to those conditions, he would bury himself under the ruins of the town, it was at length agreed to grant him liberty of coming out of the town with his garrison, but without the military honors, to be conducted to Abseouk, a town belonging to the Grand Signor, on the condition of not serving for the whole next year against Russia. As soon as this capitulation

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capitulation was signed, the commandant gave to the Russians possession of a gate, and the 4th of July, the Bashaw came out of Azoph, at the head of his garrison, which consisted of 3463 men, with whom were 2233 women and children. In the town there were found two hundred and ninety-one Christians, who had been made slaves, and were now delivered. Sixty-three merchants, partly Armenians, partly Greeks, staid in the town.

The ramparts were provided with a hundred and thirty-seven brass cannon and mortars, and twenty-six iron cannon and four mortars. There was also in the town a great quantity of ammunition and utensils of war; but very little other provisions, the magazines having been ruined by the bombs, which had spoiled a great deal of the victualment, and obliged the commandant to give up the place sooner than he would otherwise have done without those accidents, for the Russians had not as yet forced the palisades of the covered-way, nor made the least breach in the body of the place; but the inside was nothing but a heap of ruins, through the great quantity of shells thrown into it.

After the surrender of the place, marshal Lacy set to work to have it restored to a condition of defence, and remained with the army in the neighbourhood till the beginning of August. General Lewaschew was appointed governor, and major-general Brigny, senior, commandant of Azoph. Four thousand men were put into it for garrison, and the town was provided with every thing needful.

Marshal Lacy, having made all the necessary arrangements, had orders from court to go with the troops under him to join the marshal Munich in Crimea. Lacy could take no more with him than seven thousand men. With these he began his march. Having advanced as far as the river Calmius, his vanguard met with three Cossacks, who told him they belonged to the corps commanded by general Spiegel, with which he was march-

Marshal Lacy receives orders from the court to march into Crimea.

1736. marching to Backmouth; that they had lost their way in the *steps*, and were seeking to rejoin him. The marshal would not believe this account, and ordering the Cossacks to be secured, pursued his march. The next day, some other Cossacks were brought to him, who confirmed the same thing, adding, that marshal Munich had, with his army, quitted the Crimea, and returned into the Ukrain; upon which Lacy wheeled about, and measured back his steps. Without this lucky meeting of the Cossacks, he would have marched on to Crimea, and have probably ran a great risque, with so small a force as he had with him.

In the beginning of October, marshal Lacy arrived at Izoum, and ordered the Russians, who composed his army, into winter-quarters, at the eastern extremity of the lines of the Ukrain, at no great distance from Donetz. These quarters were so disposed, that they could assemble and assist one another at any the least notice of the approach of the Tartars. Marshal Lacy had his quarters at Charkow.

Invasion
of the
Tartars.

Scarce had he sent away part of his troops, before he had advice that the Tartars had made an invasion upon the frontiers, carried off a number of people and cattle, and ruined several villages. Upon this, he detached the colonel Krasna-tschoka, of the Cossacks of the Don, with two thousand Cossacks and Calmucks, to give them chase. Krasna-tschoka, marched two days, almost without a moment of rest. At length, on the third, at break of day, being the 27th of October, he came up with a troop of two hundred Tartars, between the rivers of Knoskie and Molotschnie-Wodidanz, at a place called Woltzien-Buraïk: there he fell upon them, and killed a hundred and seventy, and made the other thirty prisoners. From these he learnt, that a more considerable party, with a brother of the Khawn at their head,

was

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was got before them. Upon this, he resumed his march, and came up with them before the noon of the same day. This troop consisted of eight hundred men, partly Turks, partly Tartars. He attacked, and defeated them, killed three hundred, and took prisoners forty-seven Tartars, and three Turks. All the Russian subjects, that had been made slaves, amounting to the number of three thousand men, were delivered, and the Cossacks made a booty of four hundred horses. The Porte, not being satisfied with the conduct of the Khawn of the Tartars of Crimea, deposed him, and set up the Kalga Sultan in his stead.

The court of Petersburg, not content with having attacked the Porte on the side of the Crimea, and by the siege of Azoph, had a mind to humble the Tartars of Kuban. For this purpose, it sent orders to Don-Duc-Ombo, chief or Prince of the Calmucks, who inhabit between Ozaritzen and Astracan, to make an invasion.

Expedition of the Calmucks into the Kuban.

In the beginning of April, Don-Duc-Ombo set out on his march, with twenty thousand of his subjects. A party, which he had sent to reconnoitre the land, brought to him a prisoner. Of him they learnt, that five thousand Kibitzes, or Kuban Tartars, each of whom had a family, had assembled together, in order to retire as far as possible into the deserts, there to settle, and place their wives and children in safety from the Calmucks.

Upon this advice, Don-Duc-Ombo accelerated his march, and overtook the Tartars between the rivers of Kuban and Orp. They had posted themselves very advantageously, having formed their waggons into three lines of barricade before them, by way of retrenchment. But this did not hinder Don-Duc-Ombo from attacking them. He put his son Goldan Narma at the head of ten thousand men, and ordered him to force the enemies barricades. Goldan marched strait up to them,

1736. them, and making his men dismount, he attacked the Tartars with a great deal of bravery. They received him with equal valor, but after two hours resistance they were at length broke through, and the carnage was great: all the men were massacred; none were spared but the women and children, to the number of about ten thousand souls, and the Calmucks made a considerable booty of cattle. Twenty-four Mirzas, or chiefs of the Tartars, and near six thousand men, were killed on the spot.

Don-Duc-Ombo, after having sent the booty and the slaves under a good escort to his own residence, continued his march to the river Gegorlika, and incamped there, to give his people and horses time to refresh themselves. Some time after, having had advice that the four principal Hordes, consisting of thirty thousand Cubans, had assembled at forty leagues distance behind certain defiles, where they had resolved to wait for him; he marched to them with his troops, and kept the Tartars blocked up for thirty-seven days, not being strong enough to attack them in the post they occupied. On the other hand, the Tartars did not avail themselves of the inferiority to them in number of Don-Duc-Ombo's troops. They were afraid of foregoing their advantages, and remained behind the defiles, in the hopes that the want of provisions would at length oblige the Calmucks to retreat. But Don-Duc-Ombo, being joined by a reinforcement of a large body of Cossacks, made the necessary dispositions for forcing the enemy. These had intelligence of his design, and being afraid of losing every thing, should they wait the extremity, deputed some of their principal Mirzas to the Calmuck Prince, with a declaration to him, that they would submit to the empire of Russia, and desired of him to receive them as the subjects of her Imperial Majesty. This request was granted to them with pleasure. Their Sultan, with

two hundred Mirzas, repaired to the camp, and took the oath of allegiance, leaving some of their principal men as hostages. 1736.

While the Russian armies, under the marshals Munich and Lacy, had been taken up with their operations in the Crimea, and with the siege of Azoph, the body of troops which the Empress had sent into Germany, was brought back by the lieutenant-general Keith into the Ukrain. These troops had had their winter-quarters in the empire, and having crossed Bohemia and Poland, they, at the end of September, arrived at Kiow, where they remained in garrison for the winter. Return of the ten thousand men who had been sent to the Rhine.

It will have been remarked, by the account I have given of this campaign, that the Turks and Tartars, whom the Russian army had to combat, were what it had the least to dread; hunger, thirst, penury, continual fatigues, the marches in the intensest heats of the season, were much more fatal to it. And though I am a great admirer of count Munich, it is impossible for me to acquit him entirely of the faults made in this campaign, which cost Russia near thirty thousand men. It must be owned, that, during the preceding winter, he had taken all the pains imaginable to have the magazines well stored, and that it was not his fault but that of the commissaries of war, his not having carriages sufficient for the provisions necessary for the subsistence of the army. It would, however, have been better to have begun the campaign two months later, or to have entirely renounced the command of the army, than to lead so many thousand men into a distant country, at the hazard of losing them all, in the hope of a bare possibility of subsisting them at the expence of the enemy; add to this, that marshal Munich was too harsh; he unnecessarily fatigued his troops too much: in the burning heat of summer, instead of making them march in the night, or some hours before day-break, to take the benefit of the freshness Reflections on the campaign of 1736.

1736. ness of that time, the army never used to begin its march till two or three hours after sun-rise, which greatly contributed to the distempers that got among the troops; and the suffocating heats overcame them so, that some dropped down dead in the march. There were even officers that, in this campaign, died of hunger and misery of all kinds.

But what completed the ruin of the army was, the dissensions and feuds that prevailed among the head generals. Marshal Munich had, as I have before observed- the Prince of Hesse Hombourg under his orders, who, by no means, loved the fatigues of war. This Prince, not content with being himself slothful, and with neglecting the orders given him, stirred up several factions in the army. He found fault with all the arrangements that the marshal was making, and used to speak slightly of the general before the officers, and even before the common soldiers, expressing to them his pity of their case every time that they had suffered any the least hardship; adding, that all this proceeded from the little precaution taken by the general of the army, who was doing every thing in his power to make them all perish with hunger and fatigue. This tenor of behaviour, which was owing to his personal hatred to the interests of his sovereign the Empress, could not but produce very bad effects in the army. The soldiers did nothing with a good heart; they were discontented at every thing, and any the least fatigue made them murmur.

The Prince of Hesse carried things yet farther. He found means to gain over to his way of thinking the native Russian generals, as also the major-general Magnus Biron, cousin to the favorite, the high-chamberlain, and who had one of the poorest, narrowest understandings in the universe; the others were not much better. However, the Prince often held councils with them; and when the army

was

1736.

was in the Crimea, near to Bachtschi-Seraï, he proposed to them, in case of the marshal's intending to march farther, that they should oppose his orders; and if he pretended to exert his authority, to put him under an arrest, and confer the command upon him, as being the senior general of the army. His counsellors were, on this occasion more considerate than him; representing to him, that it was as much as their heads were worth the daring to attempt such an action: that there could be no convicting marshal Munich of any crime, as they did not know his instructions, so that it would be risking too much to proceed in such a manner against the general of the army: that the most they could do would be, to represent to the marshal, in writing, that the distempers were encreasing, and that if other measures were not taken, the whole army would perish. The Prince was obliged to conform to this opinion. He wrote, however, to the court, and secretly dispatched a courier to the high-chamberlain, who sent the original back to the marshal Munich. It is easy to judge how much this must augment the animosity of the two generals, and whether it was strange they should afterwards hate one another mortally. The Prince, indeed, often wished to reconcile himself to Munich, and made all possible advances for that purpose, but the marshal never could prevail upon himself to give him any the least mark of friendship. This went even to far, that, on occasions of meeting, when it was indispensable the shewing him some civilities, any one might plainly see by his air that they were forced.

Though Biron had sent back to Munich the letter of the Prince of Hesse, it had, nevertheless, made some impression at court, and on the ministry, where the marshal did not want for enemies. It was there resolved to have his conduct examined by a council of war, of which marshal Lacy was to be the president. But Lacy desired to be excused, and

1736. and the affair stopped there. By great good luck for the count Munich, his most inveterate enemy, the master of horse, count Lowenwolde, had died towards the end of the year 1735, or he might not have come off so well.

During the winter, marshal Munich made a trip to Petersburg, where he found means to re-establish his interest, which had suffered a decline in his absence. To the Empress then he cleared himself so thoroughly, that, so far from blaming him, she made him a present of considerable lands in the Ukrain, which had reverted to the crown on the death of the count Weisbach.

As to the Prince of Hesse, he never could retrieve that false step; on the contrary, committing fault upon fault, he came to be hated by the whole world.

Manner of marching observed by the Russians during this war, and an account of their equipages.

The manner of marching observed by the Russians in their campaigns against the Turks, is rather singular. As soon as the general had notice of the enemy not being far off, the army was formed into one or more squares, with the baggage in the middle. But such an order of marching would be practicable no where but in such deserts as those of that country, which is one whole plain, with very few defiles or streights. In ten leagues of ground there is perhaps a hillock to go up, or a ravin to descend. Besides, there is no necessity for keeping the road, so that the marches are easy enough. But then the baggage, which the army is obliged to drag along with it, is the more embarrassing, for, as there is no town in the whole country between the Ukrain and the Crimea, except only the capital of the Zaporavians, which is not equal to a good village, it is absolutely indispensable the providing every necessary for the whole campaign, and this goes so far, that there is sometimes a necessity for carrying water from one place of encampment to the next. It must then be easily conceived, that the baggage and equipages

pages

1736.

pages of such an army must be immense. I am very clear that I do not exaggerate in averring, that never did the army under count Munich take the field without having ninety thousand carriages in its train, especially after the experience so lately made of the difficulty of subsisting at the expence of the enemy. But as the mention of such a prodigious quantity of carriages may stagger the belief of the reader, I think myself obliged to state the exigency of them. For an army of fourscore thousand men, there were carriages required for six months provision of flour: this alone took up forty thousand waggons. The baggage of a regiment employed two hundred and fifty waggons each. Add those of the generals, of the irregular troops, of the train of artillery, with seven or eight thousand sutlers and victualers, and I leave any one to judge whether I have exceeded the bounds of truth. Certain it is, that, without this terrible incumbrance, the campaigns of M. Munich would not have been so fatiguing, and Russia might have derived greater advantages from them. One of the conveniences, indeed, of the army was, that there was no need of providing forage, the Russian horses being, all the summer, accustomed to be at grass, and the *steps* or deserts through which they pass, afford the best herbage in the world. The country is one of the finest in Europe, and surely a great pity it is, that it remains uncultivated for want of wood and water; as one may sometimes go four or five leagues together without seeing so much as the least bush, or the least rivulet, which makes it a necessity of carrying wood from one resting-place to another, in the uncertainty of finding any. For every company there was also constantly carried a large cask of water for the soldiers to drink by the way. There was also another use for such casks. Every regiment was obliged to have with it eight or ten of them, with as many thick planks, of which bridges were occasionally made,

Carriages
90,000

*No wood
and Water*

1736. made, to pass the infantry, and the lighter carriages; pontoons were only used for heavier baggage, and the cavalry. In two places of these deserts, there are found traces of towns, that once existed in them; the one called Samara, the other Beloseska, both names taken from those of the rivers, on the sides of which they were built. The first was demolished in conformity to the articles of the peace made by Russia with the Turks in the last century: The other, which had its own proper sovereign, was demolished by a Tartar Prince, called Sultan Mamay, a man very renowned among those people, in the fourteenth century.

The sepulchral barrows of the Tartars are also very remarkable in those deserts. They are on conspicuous eminences or hillocks, to be found, here and there, between Samara to within twenty leagues of Precop. On the top of several of these eminences, there are statues of a coarse enough workmanship, made of free-stone, of which some represent men, others women. Some of these barrows have been searched, and urns found in them full of ashes; and, at bottom, some coins of gold or of copper, with Arab characters, half obliterated.

To give an idea of the fertility of these countries, I need only observe, that the grass grows above the height of the tallest man. Asparagus there is in great quantity, and botanists have found plants there extremely rare, and well worth cultivating with care in our physic-gardens. There grows also in these *steps* a kind of grass, of which the Turks and Tartars use to make their matches. In the months of July or of August, the Tartars are obliged to burn the herbage on the *steps*, otherwise the old blades of the grass would choak the new. The Tartars have often set fire to it, to deprive the Russian army of forage; and if care is not taken to preserve the camp against the conflagration

1736.

gration, it would run the risque of being burnt. To obviate this accident, Munich ordered there should be a broom in each waggon; a number of which were occasionally so managed as to check the fire; besides which, they dug a trench two feet broad before the camp, and with these precautions it was just possible not to be burnt alive. The game, such as hares, partridges, heathcocks, &c. are met with there in great plenty; the soldiers would take a number of them with their hands: there was, withal, such a multitude of quails, that there was not a march on which they did not catch abundance.

Count Munich kept the communication open with the Ukrain during the campaign 1736, by the following means:

As soon as the army was out of the Russian li-
mits, he caused some redoubts to be made at cer-
tain distances, in such sort, that if their situation,
with respect to wood and water, allowed of it,
they were no farther from each other than one or
two French leagues. There were also, in the
more advantageous places, more considerable in-
trenchments made, as at Samara, on the small ri-
ver of Belozeska, and at Kisikormew, on the
Dnieper. There had been left in guard of the
simplest redoubt, an officer, with ten or twenty
soldiers or dragoons, and as far as thirty Cossacks.
The intrenchments were guarded by four or five
hundred regulars, and almost as many Cossacks,
under the command of a field officer. These de-
tachments were to escort the couriers, and to work
at making hay, to supply the equipages of the ar-
my, in case of its returning so late in the season,
that there was no grass to be had in the fields.
These redoubts and retrenchments were also of
great use for the convoys that followed the army,
who found in them a security against all surprise
from the enemy, and commonly passed the night
in one of these places. But what is most astonish-
ing

Manner of
keeping
open the
commu-
nication
with the
Ukrain.

1736. ing is, that though these little block-houses were in the midst of the deserts, and that the Tartars had attacked several of them, they had not taken one, nor had even intercepted above one or two couriers sent by count Munich to the court.

Munich, on his return into the Ukrain, withdrew all the garrisons from these fortifications, except from the retrenchment of Samara, where there was one kept all the time of the war. There has even remained one after the peace, and a kind of fortified town was made of the place. There was no need of demolishing the redoubts, as the Tartars knew as little of defending themselves behind ramparts as of attacking them.

Though this method of keeping up a communication with the Russian dominions succeeded perfectly well in the campaign of 1736, the marshal Munich did not, however, chuse to make use of it in the following campaigns, lest the enemies, growing bolder in time, should take these fortifications, and by that means get a great number of prisoners; besides, that all these little garrisons could not but in some degree weaken the army.

Winter

quarters of
the Russian
troops.

It is natural to imagine, that, after so fatiguing a campaign as that which the Russian army had just undergone, it would be allowed to enjoy rest for some days during the winter. But no, nothing like it; near half of them were employed in guarding the frontiers, to hinder the incursions of the Tartars: more than thirty thousand men were dispersed along the Borysthenes, from Kiow to the lines of the Ukrain, upon an extent of near two hundred French leagues of country, to break the ice of that river, and thereby hinder the Tartars from passing. It is easy to conceive the hardships of such a labor, and the impossibility of succeeding entirely in it; yet was it of some use, as it rendered invasions the more difficult to the Tartars, though it could not quite hinder them. For, with all the imaginable precautions, there was no preventing

venting the incursions of these vagabonds, their carrying off people, and their burning a great many villages. They were twice or thrice overtaken, and the booty they had made was recovered from them; but all that was nothing in comparison to the damages which the Ukrain suffered from them, in the four years that the war lasted with the Turks. 1736.

The Russian army had, during its stay in the Crimea, plundered and ruined a great part of the country. The Tartars thirsted for revenge, by means of their invasions of the Ukrain. They made several impressions during the winter of the year 1736 to 1737, notwithstanding all the precautions that Munich had taken to bar them the way in all parts. Some of their incursions succeeded, they burned some small towns and villages, and carried off above a thousand families, of whom they made slaves. Incursions
of the
Tartars.

The most considerable of all the invasions they undertook was in the month of February of the year 1737, that some thousands, on the 24th, passed the Dnieper on the ice, near the small town of Kilbernda. The major-general Lesly, whose head-quarters were not far from thence, seeing that the Tartars had found means to enter the country through the posts committed to his guard, assembled hastily two hundred men, with whom he went to attack the enemy; who, imagining at first that it was the vanguard of some large body, was beginning to retreat, but seeing that Lesly received no reinforcement, they returned strait, and attacked this detachment, of which the general, and the greatest part of those with him, were killed on the spot. There were none taken prisoners but Lesly's son, who served in quality of aid-de-camp, and about twenty men. After this blow, the Tartars entered farther into the country, burning and destroying for eight and forty hours together; but in this interval, the troops having had time to assemble, the passes were foreseized through which

1736. they were to return. They were repulsed at several, and having at length found a free place, they could not pass it so quick as not to be overtaken by major-general Rading, who fell upon their rearguard with two thousand dragoons, killed near three hundred, and retook part of the booty they had made. On their return to Crimea, they attacked the capital of the Zaporavian Cossacks, but were repulsed thence with a considerable loss; and all the damage they could do them was, to burn a few farm-houses.

Tartars
manner of
marching.

The manner in which these Tartars march, when they make their irruptions, has something singular in it. Each of them, on taking the field upon such an expedition, has two or three led horses with him, besides the horse he rides himself, for a shift in case of that being fatigued; or, if one of these horses should be so foundered as no longer to hold out the march, the master leaves him to run the common in the desert; and generally, at his return, finds him again in good plight. One may judge of the goodness of the Tartar horses by the incursions of those people, who make them sometimes at the rate of five and twenty leagues a day without the horses being hurt by it: thence too may be judged, with what rapidity they must execute their marches. All their provision consists of what they can carry with them, which is commonly no great matter. They are frugal when their interest requires them to be so, contenting themselves with bread and biscuit till they have carried their invasion into the enemy's country, where they generally get wherewith to make better cheer on their return. They never enter with their whole army into the Ukrain; it is commonly about a third, or sometimes a half, that they detach, and these never dare venture to stay in the enemy's country above eight and forty hours; at the end of which they are to make the
best

best of their way back again, to rejoin the main body, with the booty, they shall have got. 1736.

In order to be informed of all the designs of the Turks, the court of Russia had corrupted some of the secretaries or interpreters of the Porte, and of the Prince of Moldavia, who did not fail of giving Munich the earliest intelligence, as soon as any the least enterprize was under consideration. But that was not sufficient to guard against the surprises of the Tartars. The Zaporavian Cossacks then had always some scouting parties out towards the line of Crimea, observing any the least motions of the Tartars, and duly gave advice on the enemy's setting out on a march. There were erected, along the frontiers, every half mile, three pyramids, on the tops of which were placed three tarred and pitched barrels, with some dry wood and straw. As soon as notice was had that the Tartars were on march, the beacon was lighted on the first pyramid of the three, and so continued on by the rest along the frontiers, for a warning to the posts, and to the inhabitants, to be on their guard. When the enemies drew near any post, the second beacon was lighted; and as soon as they had made their way through any place, and penetrated into the country, the third was lighted, and then all the troops, without any the least delay, set out towards the part where the fire was first kindled, to cut off the retreat of the enemy; and, to quicken their march, there were distributed to each regiment of foot two hundred horses, that were put, two and two, to a sledge; on each of which there were placed three or four men. I should imagine that, humanly speaking, it is hardly possible to take greater precautions, and yet, for all that, there did not pass a single year in which one of the Tartars invasions did not succeed; for every year they made several.

Having said enough of the Tartars of Crimea, let me now allot a few words to the expeditions made anew by the Calmucks and Cossacks of the Don Cuban.

Measures
taken to
have no-
tice of the
Tartars
marches.

Expediti-
on of the
Calmucks
into the
Don Cuban.

1736. Don, under the famous Don-Duc-Ombo, against the Tartars of Cuban.

These same Tartars had been defeated in the month of May, and several Hords had submitted to Russia, but the greater part of them had remained faithful to the Porte. The court of Petersburg, who wanted to be completely secure on that side, sent orders to the Calmuck Prince to enter with his troops, and with the Cossacks of the Don, under Krasnatzchoka and Jefremow, both of them colonels of the Cossacks, into the Cuban, and to reduce those Tartars so thoroughly, that they should not soon be able to lift their heads again. These troops, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, got under march on the thirtieth of November, and having advanced as far as the river Jegorlick, they sent a small detachment to get intelligence. These were so fortunate as to fall in with a party of the enemy whom they defeated, and brought away a prisoner, of whom they learnt, that one of the most powerful Hords, called the Hord of Jetiskooly, which could bring twenty thousand horse into the field, was come out of the mountains, where it could subsist no longer, and was actually then grazing its horses and cattle in the fields, beyond the river Cuban; and, to cover them from the Calmuck and Cossack incursions, had established several well-fortified posts in the defiles or streights, which were necessary to be passed to attack them. Upon this intelligence, Don-Duc-Ombo detached a body of Cossacks, under the command of the two colonels Krasnatzchoka and Jefremow, to reconnoitre the situation of the Tartar posts, and followed with the rest of his troops. During the day, they viewed and examined the places all round the retrenchments of the enemy; and, in the night, the Cossacks attacked one of the principal posts, guarded by a thousand men, and forced it, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance; and as they had been fortunate enough to carry off from the Tartars, who defended this post, all their horses,

1736.

horses, not a man could escape; they were every soul massacred, except the commanding officer of that body, who was brought to the camp to get some farther intelligence out of him. As soon as Don-Duc-Ombo had examined him, he divided his troops into several parties, marched to the enemy, and attacked them on several sides at once. Having defeated them, he ranged the whole extent of the country that lies along the river of Cuban to the sea of Azoph, and ruined entirely this Hord. All the inhabited places along the river were sacked and desolated. Don-Duc-Ombo penetrated even to Kapil, which is a walled town, and the usual residence of the Sultan Bachtî-Gerëi, chief of those Tartars, took it by storm, and totally destroyed it. This incursion lasted from the first to the fourteenth of December. The booty the Calmucks and Cossacks made in this expedition was very considerable. Above ten thousand women and children were made slaves: the quantity of cattle taken was prodigious. The Calmucks had for their share twenty thousand horses, besides horned cattle and sheep. Don-Duc-Ombo averred, that there had not for a long time been obtained so complete a victory, for it had cost the enemy at least thirty thousand souls, including the slaves that were made; near fifteen thousand men had been massacred upon the spot, the rest drowned in endeavouring to pass the river Cuban by swimming, the sides being frozen, and the waters high. Don-Duc-Ombo, not contented with this victory, sent off the booty, and barricaded himself with his troops along the Cuban. Some time afterwards, having notice that three thousand Tartars had advanced, he detached a body that attacked them. They made a vigorous resistance; however, they were at length routed and put to flight.

The campaign which Munich had made in the Crimea, had taught him how difficult it was to conduct marches through those vast deserts. As soon therefore

Disposi-
ons for the
campaign
of 1737.

1737. therefore, as his troops were distributed into their quarters, he began the arrangements for the next campaign. In the course of the winter, he had repaired to the court of Petersburg, and managed every thing so successfully, that there was scarce felt the least want of any thing during the campaign of 1737. The regiments were completed by forty thousand recruits, which the empire furnished. Great diligence was also used in working at the new docks of Briansk, for the building there flat-bottomed vessels, to be used for going down the Dnieper, and for acting in the Black-Sea. They were called double sloops, and carried four four-pounders, and eight one-pounders, and could contain a hundred men. It was necessary to make them very flat, on account of the falls of the Dnieper, which it is very difficult to pass in common boats. Yet did the Russians draw but little advantage from this new fleet: the only service it did was, its carrying provisions to Ockzakow; no officer having chosen to attempt the doing any thing with it on the Black-Sea.

Campaign
of Munich
in 1737.

The campaign of 1737, in which the Russian army took Ockzakow, was the most bloody one of the whole war, considering the numbers lost through the enemy. Munich returned from court at the end of February. As soon as he was arrived at the head quarters at Kiow, he completed the arrangements which had been begun for the ensuing campaign. On the middle of February, all the regiments had notice to hold themselves in readiness for marching in twenty-four hours after they should receive the order.

On the beginning of April, the whole army came out of quarters; the infantry was embarked in great boats, on which it fell down the Dnieper, to within some leagues of Perevolotschna *, where the regiments were put into quarters of canton-

* It was near this little town that Charles XII. of Sweden passed the Dnieper, after his unfortunate battle at Pultowa.

ment in the neighbouring little towns and villages, as the time for encamping was not come, for want of grass.

Towards the end of April, the army took the field, and passed the Dnieper in three different places. One division under the general Romantzow at Kremenzchook, another under the lieutenant-general Leontew at Orlick, and the third under the Prince of Hesse Hombourg at Perewolotschna, upon a bridge of boats of five hundred and three fathoms in length, and that had taken one hundred and twenty-eight boats to construct it.

By May 26, the whole army had passed, and the same day three battalions of the foot-guards, and three hundred horse-guards, entered the camp. Prince Ulrick of Brunswick also joined the army, to perform the campaign in quality of volunteer.

May 12, The army went under march, and the divisions all joined on the third of June, in the whole camp, by the river Omelnick.

The army was composed of sixty-three battalions of foot, two squadrons of horse-guards, one squadron of Cuirassiers of the regiment of Munich, and of twenty-nine regiments, or a hundred and forty-five squadrons of dragoons. The body of engineers was of three thousand men. The light troops consisted of fifteen hundred hussars, and of at least thirteen thousand Cossacks of all kinds; so that the army might be reckoned to amount to between sixty and seventy thousand men. There were in the train of artillery sixty-two battering-pieces, from eighteen to twenty-four pounders, eleven mortars, sixteen howitzers, a hundred and seventy-five field-pieces, of from three to twelve pounders, and three hundred and ninety-two small mortars for grenades, of six pound weight.

The generals who commanded under the marshal were, the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, grand

1737. grand master of the ordinance, the general Romantzow, the lieutenant-generals Leontew, Keith, Charles Biron and Lowendahl, the major-generals Tarakanow, Magnus Biron, Prince Basilus Repnin, Stoffeln, Bachmetew, Arachtschew, and Gustavus Biron, who commanded the three battalions of guards.

This army marched in several columns to the river of Bogh, keeping as close as possible along the side of the river Dnieper.

June the 28th, The army arrived at the river Bogh, and the 26th was taken up with throwing three bridges over it, one of pontoons, the other two of casks. The army had passed the river in three days, without any the least obstruction from the enemy. The rendezvous of their army being under Bender, and not being entirely assembled, they could not imagine to themselves that that of the Russians was already so far advanced.

Before the army quitted the river Bogh, it was joined by several foreign officers, who came to make the campaign in quality of volunteers, and by more than twenty eight thousand waggons of provisions, as also by two thousand camels, which were distributed among the regiments; each company having two, for the carrying their tents.

July the 2d, The army having left the Bogh, did not advance above four wersts, or a French league, to the small river Souchaia-tzchertala. This was the first time that the army marched in a square this campaign; and as it was more numerous than the preceding year, and had much more equipages and baggage than it ever had till then, it was divided into three squares, which marched in such a disposition as to be able to second each other.

July the 3d, The army advanced seventeen wersts, or about four leagues, to the small river Mertwie-Wody. There were several defiles or
streights

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streights to be passed, so that a part of the baggage, as well as of the magazine of provisions, with the rear-guard, could not get to the camp before the 4th; and what was the most vexatious in this march was, that there was not a drop of water from Tzchertala to Mertwie-Wody, so that the cattle remained twenty-four hours without watering. As to the men, they had provided themselves, having been each ordered to fill his flask, besides taking care to replenish the casks.

Hitherto the army had not deviated from the road that leads to Bender, that they might put the enemies upon a false scent, so as to make them withdraw part of their troops from Ockzakow, but the marshal learning, that so far from biting at this deception, the Turks were detaching some of their best troops to reinforce the garrison of that town, it was resolved to quicken as much as possible their march, to reach the place, without giving time to the enemy to fortify it more, or even to arrive there with all their army. To be less incumbered in the march, the heavier baggage, the magazines of provisions, and a part of the battering artillery, were left behind, under the orders of lieutenant-general Leontew, and of major-general Tarakanow, who were to follow in slower marches.

July 6, The army marched full five French leagues, and came on to encamp on the Bogh. The scouting parties, which had been sent toward Bender and Ockzakow, came in, and reported, that they had seen several advanced guards on the road of Ockzakow, who had retreated as soon as they perceived them, without waiting for their coming up to them.

July 7th, The army marched along the side of the river Bogh, down by which they came, and as there were many defiles, they could not get on above three leagues.

July the 8th, They could not advance above three more, having still several defiles to pass, as
also

1737. also the small river of Jatitzkaya. The enemies shewed themselves to the vanguard, at a good distance, but durst not attempt any thing; retreating as soon as ever they saw the light troops advancing to attack them.

July 9, The army decamped very early in the morning, and did not arrive till very late in the night, at the river Jantzchikzagh, having marched seven French leagues. This was a level country enough, but there was not a drop of water to be had by the way, from one encampment to the other. A party of the Cossacks of the Don fell upon an advanced post of the enemy, and took prisoners three *Bescheleys*, or Asiatic horsemen. From these it was learnt, that they had been sent from Ockzakow to reconnoitre the march of the Russian army; that the garrison was actually composed of fifteen thousand men, and they expected on that very day, or the next, a reinforcement by sea and by land; that they had been at work for a whole twelve-month, to put the fortifications of the place into a good state of defence; that it was provided with near a hundred pieces of artillery, cannon, and mortars; that there were eighteen gallies, and several transports in the harbour; that they had also began to repair the fortification of Kinburn, which had been ruined the preceding year by the general Leontew, but that, on advice that the Russian armies had taken the field, they had withdrawn the workmen; they added, that the Tartars of Budziack, who had been encamped near Ockzakow, had betaken themselves to flight, notwithstanding all the representations of their Sultan; they had deserted him, and sought retreat in their own country.

The enemy, to deprive the Russian army of forage, had burnt all the grass, from the river of Jantzchikzagh to Ockzakow, for four leagues round.

July 10, The army, by break of day, got under march, and as it was not above three leagues distance from Ockzakow, it soon saw the advanced guards

guards of the enemy. The Cossacks came to blows with them, and they defending themselves gallantly, made it a skirmish. The Cossacks were even obliged to give way, when Stoyanow, a colonel of the hussars, rode up with his regiment to sustain them; but as the enemies were continually receiving succours from the town, and were making dispositions to surround the light troops, there were detached a regiment of dragoons, and two regiments of infantry, with some pieces of cannon, that obliged them to retreat. Several of them were made prisoners, and among others four officers, who gave account, that they had not arrived but just the night before at Ockzakow, with seven thousand picked men, consisting of Bosnians and Arnaults, so that the garrison was more than twenty thousand strong, of whom the best mounted had advanced against the light troops. The skirmish, which had lasted near four hours, had not cost the Russians above ten hussars and fifteen Cossacks. The enemies lost above a hundred men, killed and wounded, and taken prisoners.

The army, having advanced within gun-shot of Ockzakow, encamped there at night-fall, not without a good deal of confusion. They thence saw the suburbs all in flames, the governor having ordered the setting fire to them.

July 11, In the morning, the army shifted its camp, and occupied the ground which is between the Liman (so the mouth of the Dnieper is called) and the Black-sea. The marshal then held a grand council of war, in which it was resolved to attack the town with the utmost vigor, before the arrival of the fresh reinforcements that were expected, or that the Turkish army could assemble under Bender to come to its relief.

The council had not yet done sitting, when, at ten in the morning, the enemies sallied out of the place, to the number of fifteen thousand men. They formed two divisions, and both, at the same time

Attack
and re-
duction of
the town of
Oczakow.

1737. time advanced, the one against the left of the army, and the other against the right; but as their greatest strength lay against the right, where the Cossacks of the Don were encamped, baron Lowendahl was detached at the head of the piquets of the army, with some field-pieces, to stop them. The firing was very brisk, and lasted near two hours. But the enemies having, at length, lost a number of their men by the fire of the artillery, were obliged to retreat. There might be about two hundred killed on both sides. The Russians did not lose one officer.

Munich, at his opening the campaign, had, at the same time, dispatched orders to Prince Troubeltzkoi, to come down the Boristhenes (the Dnieper) with the fleet which had been built at Bransk, and to embark on board of it a part of the heavy artillery, with a great quantity of provisions, and of other necessaries for forming a siege. The army, which had, without that, a prodigious quantity of baggage, not having been able to incumber itself more with all that train and luggage. But this fleet did not arrive within the appointed time at the mouth of the Dnieper, having been detained for several days by storms and contrary winds; besides which, the Dnieper had happened to be so low at the cataracts, that there was no such thing as passing the vessels with their lading, so that they were obliged to take it entirely out, and so reload them after they were got through the cataracts. Some of the vessels had even been hauled a shore, and drawn upon rollers, till they had got past the cataracts. All these impediments had taken up a great deal of time to conquer them, insomuch that Munich, arriving at Ockzakow, instead of meeting his fleet there, found himself in want of every thing for undertaking the siege. There was not so much as wood to burn, nor to make fascines. No pasturage for the horses within eight leagues round; the enemies had burnt it all,

all, as I have above observed. As to the horses, it had been resolved to send them to join the heavy baggage; but the greatest difficulty was, where to get the wood and the necessary utensils for the siege, which were on board the fleet. Munich thought that it could not, at the worst, be long before they arrived; and it was, in this hope, that the siege was begun, without farther delay.

July 11, In the evening, five thousand pioneers were ordered, under the sustainment of five thousand men, to raise five redoubts, and the needful epaulements between the Liman and the Black-Sea, which might afterward serve for lines of contravallation, and for covering the tail of the trenches. There was a clear moon-shine; the night was short, and the ground almost as hard as the rock, inasmuch that, notwithstanding all the pains the troops took, it was found impracticable to raise a single redoubt before day. The marshal wanted much, that at least the middle one should be in a condition of service, and therefore set two thousand pioneers to work at it, but the sun rose without their having been able to penetrate two feet into the ground. The Turks at the same time began a great firing from their ramparts on the troops, who were not above a small cannon shot from the glacis, which made the marshal recall them into camp.

The brigadier Lieven and the colonel Jerepkin had been ordered to accomplish the raising the two redoubts at the extremity of the right to the Black-Sea; but they found ready made ones to their hand, with the parapet and the ditch, so that having repaired them, and surrounded them with chevaux-de-frise, they posted their men there. The meaning of this ready-made convenience was, that they were gardens of the town, which were near each other in that part, but separated by good ditches and parapets, the wood for paling being scarce there. These two gardens, thus con-

1737. converted to redoubts, and which Lieven and Jerepkin had occupied, were not above half-cannon-shot from the town, so that it was foreseen that the enemy would not fail of making a sally on that side. General Romanzow, by break of day, repaired thither, at the head of the piquets of the right wing, with some field-pieces. At the same time, the piquets of the rest of the army, the companies of grenadiers, and the Cossacks, had order to form at the head of their encampments.

July 12, At six of the morning, the advanced guards began to engage in the action with a great deal of bravery on both sides. The whole army was ordered to get under arms. Half of the regiments, with their colors flying, marched on the town-side; the other half, under the Prince of Hesse, (who fell sick precisely the same day that the Cossacks took the first prisoners, and who did not recover till after Ockzakow was taken) remained in the camp.

The enemies having, on their right, on the side of the Liman (name of the mouth of the Dnieper) a retrenchment, or rather hollow-way, which they well lined with men; and, on the other side, they had posted themselves in some of those gardens, above described; they made a vigorous defence, but were at length driven out, and forced to retreat behind the palisades. The Russians immediately occupied those posts, and, under favor of those gardens, approached to within musket-shot of the counterscarp. The firing was continued on both sides from the morning till night-fall. The marshal caused the battering-cannon, the mortars, as also the field-artillery, to advance; and, upon finding a convenient garden, they were placed there, without raising any battery or platform. A continual firing was made with them, and the town was seen in flames in several places, but they were presently extinguished.

During

1737.

During the night, they began to work at the trenches, with a view at least to join the gardens by a communication, but to no purpose, such was the hardness of the ground. It would have taken up eight and forty hours to perfect the parapet, and establish a cover from the cannon-shot. By singular good luck there happened to be no need of this work. The cannons had not ceased playing the whole night, nor the mortars from throwing bombs.

About an hour before day, on the 13th, a fire appeared in the middle of the town, and the flames extended so, that one could distinctly observe by it several streets in a blaze. The marshal, to make his advantage of this, sent to Keith, who was posted in the centre of the attack, and the nearest to the town, order to advance with his troops to within a musket-shot of the glacis, and to keep up an incessant firing, to draw the garrison that way to the rampart, and hold it in alarm, that it might not be able to help to extinguish the fire. Keith returned for answer, that he was already within less than a musket shot of the glacis, that the enemies had killed and wounded a number of his men, with musket-shot from the rampart, in the post where he actually then was. A moment afterwards, the marshal sent an order to Keith to keep up a continual fire of the musketry against the rampart. He was obeyed. The fire had not lasted five minutes, before he ordered the troops to come out from behind the redoubts, and to fire without cover. Keith immediately executed the order, but sent, at the same time, a representation, that this manœuvre would cause the loss of a great number of men to no purpose. Scarce, however, had the troops got to the outside of the redoubts, when marshal Munich sent to Keith an aid-de-camp, to tell him, that himself, Romantzow, and general Biron of the guards, were advanced with the right wing to the foot of the
L glacis,

1737. glacis, and that he hoped Keith would do the same. Lowendahl, who was with the left wing, and the artillery, some hundreds of paces behind the center, had had the same order; upon which, with his troops, he joined Keith, and they advanced towards the town. Arriving at the foot of the glacis, the troops were stopped by the ditch of the counterscarp, which was twelve feet broad. Nor could they pass it, not having any the least thing necessary for an assault, or for getting over a ditch. However, there they staid near two hours, exposed to the hottest fire, without retreating one step, and constantly seeking for some means of passing. Some even had got clear over the ditch, but not in number enough to decide the fate of the town. At length, the troops growing disheartened, at seeing there was no probability of passing this fore-ditch, or of gaining a lodgment in the covered-way, retired in great confusion into the gardens and redoubts which they had occupied the preceding night. Some hundreds of Turks made, at the same time, a sally from the town, and killed a number of their men in this retreat, especially of the wounded, who could not get off the ground fast enough.

If the seraskier and governor of the place had had the presence of mind or sense to make a sally with their garrison, they could have beat the Russian army completely, and, forcing it to raise the siege, have obliged it to return to Russia.

The marshal, who, on this repulse, had given up every thing for lost, was wrapped in the greatest affliction. But the great fire in the town restored his affairs; it became general, and about nine o'clock in the morning the grand powder-magazine blew up, and not only overturned part of the town, but buried above six thousand men in the ruins. This blow threw the seraskier and the whole garrison into a consternation; and as there was no possibility of extinguishing the fire, he judged it would

would be madness to suffer so many to perish by the flames, or to have them buried under the rubbish. He then ordered all the flags, with which the ramparts and glacis were stuck, in the Turkish manner, to be taken down, and the white flag to be hoisted. He sent, at the same time, his Bash-Tzchaus, or adjutant-general, to count Munich, to desire of him an armistice of twenty-four hours. His request was rejected, and it was proposed to him to surrender himself, with his garrison, prisoners of war, within an hour's time, or to expect no quarters. While this was in agitation, advice came, that the hussars and Cossacks of the Don had penetrated into the town, on the side to the sea. The seraskier, and a part of the garrison, had got out of the place, in order to escape on board the galleys, and vessels of transport, while the capitulation was forming. The Cossacks and hussars seeing this, fell furiously upon them, forced them to return into the town, and followed them in at the same time. The seraskier, upon this, sent a second time to the marshal, and surrendered at discretion, requesting nothing but life, which was granted.

A detachment of the foot-guards took immediately possession of a gate, and the garrison was disarmed, and conducted to the camp.

While these arrangements were making, some hundreds of soldiers entered the town, and massacred a number of people. There were not above two hundred that found means to get to the galleys, and so escape. Many were drowned who had thrown themselves into the sea to swim to the transports; which, seeing the town taken, weighed anchor, and made the best of their way to Constantinople, to carry the news of the success of the Russian expedition.

The prisoners that were made of the enemies, were the seraskier Jaya, Bashaw of three tails, and commander in chief of all the troops, son-in-law

1737. to the last Grand Vizier, and who had been master of horse to the deposed Sultan; the governor of the place, Mustapha, Bashaw of two tails; thirty other officers of distinction, sixty subalterns, three thousand one hundred and seventy-four private soldiers of different bodies, as Janisaries, Spahis, Bosniacs, and Arnaouts; two hundred servants, and twelve hundred women and children; fifty-four Greeks, who took on service in the hussars, and some hundreds of slaves, who recovered thus their liberty.

By this enumeration may be judged the number of men the Turks must have lost in the town, the garrison having been twenty thousand strong, besides the inhabitants. By the 20th of July, there had been already interred seventeen thousand Turks; and there were still a great number of bodies buried under the ruins, which were not found till long after.

On the ramparts were found eighty-two brass cannon, six iron, seven mortars, and one hauwitzer. There were taken nine horse-tails, eight staffs of command, and a great quantity of very fine arms. The colors were near three hundred; and the booty the troops got was very considerable.

The Cossacks of the Don distinguished themselves greatly before Ockzakow; for they readily and voluntarily fought on foot, and even marched up to the assault.

Reflec-
tions on
the reduc-
tion of
Ockza-
kow.

Such is the exact enough relation of the siege of Ockzakow; a siege the most singular of the kind that ever the world saw. Nothing less than Munich's good luck could ever have brought it to that issue; for, after the faults he committed in attacking it, he deserved to be beaten, and to have been obliged to raise the siege. He began the attack without knowing in what manner the town was fortified, and without having reconnoitred the situation. He caused the assault to be
given

1737.

given on the most fortified side, without having any the least materials for passing the ditch of the counterscarp, and the very existence of which was unknown till the moment of coming at it. If he had turned the town, and made his approaches to it on the side to the sea, he would have taken it much more easily, there being only a single wall, that was even damaged in some places. When the marshal was repulsed, he wanted to throw the blame of the whole affair on Keith, telling the Prince of Brunswick, in presence of some generals, that it was owing to the over-great vivacity of Keith that the assault given had succeeded so ill; but that, as the fire still continued burning, perhaps every thing would come right again. This was told again to Mr. Keith, who, extremely piqued at the imputation laid on him, of a measure in which he had not acted but against his own will, sent a request to marshal Munich, not to make him any reproaches, since he had done nothing but follow his orders; adding, that he was ready to demand a council of war, before which he would make appear the faults that had been committed in the beginning of the siege. The marshal came next morning to pay him a visit, and, among other things said to him; "*It is, Sir, partly to you that we are indebted for the success of this great enterprise.*" Keith, who had not forgotten his speeches of the eve, answered, "*I ask your pardon, Sir, I do not pretend to any the least honor from it; having done nothing but merely obeyed your orders.*"

During the preceding winter, the marshal had sent an army-guide to Ockzakow, with compliments to the Bashaw, and to see whether he could not take a plan of the fortifications of the town. This man, to whom it had hardly been permitted to look out of the windows of his room, wishing, nevertheless, to make his court to count Munich, had given him the plan of an exagon, with
assurance

1737. assurance of its being fortified in that manner : It was, however, upon this report that the siege of the place was undertaken, without its having been reconnoitred.

Disposi-
tions at
Ockza-
kow.

July 14, The major-general Bachmetew, and colonel Bratke of the engineers, entered the town, with two regiments of dragoons, twelve battalions of foot, and two thousand Cossacks. Two of the regiments were to be sent thence under colonel Wedel to Kinburn.

As it was not at all doubted but that the Turks would exert their utmost efforts for the taking of Ockzakow, it was ordered to be provided of every necessary, and put into a condition of making a long resistance. A part of the artillery was left there, and a number of engineers, to direct the works of fortification. The town had been turned into a heap of stones, so that the garrison could not be lodged in it, but encamped on the side of the ditch of the counterscarp, where they began to work at a retrenchment, that was to extend all along the front of the town, having the Liman, or mouth of the river, on the right, and the Black-Sea on the left; but as this was a work that required a great deal of time, there were only two small retrenchments provisionally made on each side, after which the intended grand one was proceeded upon, but was not finished. These lines were to serve for advanced works, to oblige the enemy, in case of an attack, to begin his trenches at a great distance, for those works that were completed were too well constructed to leave any fear of their being carried sword in hand.

The army remained two days more under the camp of Ockzakow, to rest itself from the fatigues which it had undergone for thirteen days successively, after which the marshal resumed the march.

His instructions were, to proceed towards Bender, after he should have taken Ockzakow; but the

1737.

the marshal had learnt that the enemy had burnt all the grass on that side: and as the Russian army was diminished, not only by the garrison left at Ockzakow, and by the numbers they had lost in the course of the siege, but also by the multitude of sick that were left in the army, inso-much that it mustered in the field from twenty to twenty-four thousand men less strong than at the opening of the campaign, it was resolved not to move to any distance from the Bogh, but to make some marches and counter-marches, that should make the enemy believe that they were bending their force against them; but the true design was, to cover Ockzakow, and to hinder the Turks from forming the siege of it, till the garrison should have had the time to repair the fortifications, and to erect such buildings as might serve to lodge them in the winter.

July 22, The army was at sixty wersts or fifteen leagues from Ockzakow, near the Bogh. There the general Leontew, who had been left behind with the baggages and magazines, rejoined the army.

July 23, The army, very early in the morning, got under march, but had scarce proceeded a quarter of a league, when the Cossacks of the Don, who had been sent on a scouting party towards Bender, brought word, that a great body of the enemy was advancing against the army, and was not above half a league off. Hitherto they had heard no more of the enemy, than if the army had marched in full peace, so that though they marched in square battalions, they had allowed the baggage to go on before, or follow them behind, just as should be most convenient for them. The marshal himself had ordered the army to move on, and had himself stopped only to dispatch a courier to the court. He was scarce got on horseback, when a body of the enemy attacked his baggages, and those of the Prince of Brunswick.

Munich,

Engage-
ment of
the Turks
and Tar-
tars
with the
quarter-
masters.

1737. Munich, who had always with him an escort of some squadrons of horse, detached them against the enemies, whom they repulsed on that side. They had, however, had time enough to kill some of the baggage-retinue, and to carry off several horses.

Nearly at the same time, colonel Fermor and lieutenant-general Lieven, who were performing the function of quarter-masters general, and who, having no conception of a hostile rencounter, had gone on before with the quarter-masters and harbingers, making up in all three hundred and fifty, without waiting for the two regiments of dragoons that were to escort them, found themselves on a sudden surrounded with some thousands of Turks and Tartars. Fermor, on the instant, made his little troop dismount, and form into a square. The enemy's horse and foot fell upon them, but were several times repulsed with a considerable loss. The quarter-masters men reserved their fire, and managed it so well, that they did not let fly a shot in vain. The Turks imagined they should gain their ends better, by setting fire to the grass. Fermor took his precautions so well, and made with his troops so opportune a motion, that, before the fire could reach them, they got to a spot where there was nothing combustible. The enemies thereon made a fresh attack, and were repulsed as before. The quarter-masters must, however, have soon been overpowered with such numbers, if some regiments had not luckily come up in time to disengage them. The Russians had, on this occasion, fifty men killed and wounded, and near a hundred were taken prisoners, but most of them only servants.

Some slaves, who had found means to escape, assured, that the enemies were, in number, five thousand Turks and ten thousand Tartars, who had been sent from Bender to attack the general Leontew on his march, before he should join the army.

July

July 25, General Bachmetew sent word, that the works at Ockzakow were in considerable forwardness, and that there were fifteen hundred Zaporavian Cossacks arrived there in thirty-eight vessels; that they had made an expedition on the Black-Sea against the islands of the Crimea, but that they had found them all abandoned by the inhabitants.

1737.

July 26, The army went up a long shore of the Bogh, four leagues, and encamped at a place called Andreewska, where there are to be seen the ruins of a town. The marshal caused a good fort to be built there, giving it the name of Sr. Andrew, into which he put the greatest part of the artillery, under the guard of two regiments of foot, commanded by the Prince of Holstein, till the arrival of the fleet that was to carry them to Ockzakow. For, as the enemies had burnt the grass, there was a great scarcity of forage, and the horses and oxen, who drew the artillery, died every day by dozens.

July 27, The marshal received the news, that a part of the fleet, under the colonel Chripourow, was at length arrived at Ockzakow, to the number of fourteen double sloops, and seventy large boats, of a hundred and fifty tons burthen each. These vessels were loaded with a great quantity of all sorts of provisions and ammunition: some thousands of bomb-shells, balls, grenadoes, gabions, wood for burning and for building. This was the part of the fleet that was to have brought to the army the necessaries for conducting the siege, but which did not arrive till fifteen days after the taking of the place.

Thence it may be seen, that there is no precisely relying on water-carriage, especially on such a river as the Dnieper, where there is a great number of falls, which are unpassable when the water is low.

The

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The army, having proceeded up the side of the Bogh as far as the conflux of the Zirzakleya, had notice that there was, on the other side of the river, forage and wood in abundance; upon which it was resolved to cross it at this place, though it is there ninety-five fathoms broad, and that the river is marshy on the western side.

July the 30th, They began to work at the getting two bridges ready.

August the 1st, The first regiments passed over the river.

The Zaporavian Cossacks had, in their little vessels, made a second expedition to the mouth of the Dnieper, had gone up the river, plundered several villages, set fire to a number of others, and thereby spread an alarm over the whole country, along that river, as far as Bender. They returned with a great booty, and at times repeated these expeditions, but with less profit to them, the people of the country having gone off with their best effects to Bender, or farther into the country.

August 7, At night, it was seen that the enemy had set fire to the woods, and bushes on the other side of the Bogh, on the way to Bender, at about four leagues distance from the camp. It was at first imagined that it might be a great body of the Turks, or even their whole army, that was advancing to attack the Russians; but after having sent out several parties of the Cossacks, who scoured the country a good way beyond the fire, without discovering any traces of the enemy, the alarm went off.

The Tatars attack the foragers, and gain some advantage.

Since the affair of the quarter-masters, there had not been any the least news of the enemies, which threw the army into such a security, as if they had been in the midst of Russia; they went a foraging without so much as the smallest covering party. Some of the servants ventured as far as two or three leagues off, but they paid dearly for it.

August

1737.

August 11, A party of Tartars, of fifteen hundred men, having swam over the river some leagues above the camp, fell upon the foragers on the left, whom they found dispersed all over the country round, massacred a number of them, and carried off more than a thousand horses and oxen, before the alarm reached the camp. The Cossacks of the Don, who were encamped the nearest to the place where this was passing, took instantly to horse, and rode full speed to the enemy. But these, who were by no means come on a fighting scheme, thought of nothing but to make the best of their way off the ground, as soon as they saw the Cossacks making towards them. They detached then the main of their troops before, with the prisoners and the booty, while the boldest of them kept in the rear, and followed more slowly. This enabled the Cossacks to come up with them, who killed them near a hundred men, and made twenty prisoners. They pursued them ten leagues from the camp, as far as Mertwie-Wodi, but these, having had so greatly the start of them, had the good luck to escape with their capture.

After this sinister rencounter, the army was not only more on its guard, but marshal Munich, who never forgave any the least negligence in his officers, caused it to be rigorously examined into, by whose orders it was that the foragers had gone out of the camp without covering parties. The whole blame fell on the principal officers, and majors of the regiments, so that there was not one regiment of the left wing of which there was not an officer punished. Some lost their rank for a time, others were mulcted several months pay.

August 12, The marshal detached general Romanzow, with the guards, some regiments of dragoons and of Cossacks, to return into the Ukrain. Under their escort he also sent away the Turkish prisoners. The object of this detachment was, to facilitate the forages to the army.

August

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August 19, The brigadier, Prince Boraitinsky, who commanded a second division of the fleet originally designed for the siege, and now for the victualment of Ockzakow, came down the Dnieper, to about the part that made it on a line with the encampment of the army. This division consisted of forty eight double sloops, four cantzchibasses, and fifty-seven great boats, having aboard a great quantity of ammunition, of materials, of provisions, with one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight men, soldiers and sailors.

The third division of this fleet, which was of much the same strength, and as well provided, was to come down under the command of the rear admiral Mamonow, but could not serve at Ockzakow till towards the middle of September.

August 20, The army shifted its camp, and went down along the side of the Bogh to near its confluence with the Dnieper, where it staid some days to take rest.

Marshal Munich, accompanied by the Prince of Brunswick, thence repaired on a visit of inspection to Ockzakow, to satisfy himself with his own eyes, whether the works had been effectually carried on for the repair and augmentation of the fortifications; as also the better to be assured of the same care having been taken of those at Kinburn.

Stoffeln
sent to
command
in Ockzakow.

As Munich had still no sort of doubt of the Turks besieging Ockzakow, and that it was a point of importance to Russia to have an intelligent officer there, major-general Stoffeln was sent for that purpose; Bachmetew having, besides, requested to be relieved on the account of his bad health.

Stoffeln, who desired nothing better than to have occasion of distinguishing himself, accepted this command with pleasure: and how much he

he did honor to the choice of him for this trust, by his gallant defence of the place, when the Turkish army besieged it, will appear hereafter. 1737.

After the return of the marshal, the army made some marches along the side of the Bogh, and, on the last days of August, began to resume its way back to the Ukrain. Munich divided it into several corps, who were, however, all obliged to repass the Boristhenes (Dnieper) on the bridge of Perewolotschna, where they separated, and each regiment took its route for its respective winter-quarters. Munich took up his head-quarters at Pultowa. Return of the army to the Ukrain.

This campaign did much honour to Munich, and greatly contributed to augment the reputation of the Russian troops but, was at bottom of very little service to the state, fatiguing and murderous as it was. The army had lost in the course of it eleven thousand regulars, and five thousand Cossacks. The loss in servants, and waggoners of the magazine-carriages, might be about ten thousand. Reflections on the campaign of Ockzarkow.

As I have given an account of such as were killed or taken by the enemies, it will be readily observed, that the greatest part must have perished by diseases; for, as to desertion, it is a thing unknown in the Russian armies.

There is, indeed, one material cause, that, in a very great measure, contributes to the rifeness of distempers in the armies of Russia, the almost continual lents, which they are obliged to observe, according to the Greek ritual. This condemns them three-fourths of the year to the forbearance of flesh-meat: and to such a length is the superstition of the nation carried, that, though the synod grants them a dispensation for eating flesh during the campaigns, there are few that choose to take the benefit of it, preferring death to the sin of breaking their appointed lents or fasts. The

Russian

1737. Russian soldiers, withal, in the campaigns, lie on the bare ground, never so much as thinking of straw, or wanting coverings in their tents. True, indeed, it is, that, in the war with the Turks, there was no such thing as having any conveniences of this kind, the campaigns being nothing but incessant marches. It was a prodigy to continue five days together in the same camp. The care taken of the sick in these circumstances could not be much, and notwithstanding all that has been said of the Russians, their being so robust and hardy, they are subject to several diseases, as the scurvy, fevers; and, in the field, to bloody-fluxes, &c. Commonly one third of the sick die. Nor is there any thing extraordinary in a regiment, though in quarters, having two hundred sick by the beginning of spring, or in the autumn. There is, to every regiment, but one head-surgeon and his mate, who are not withal the most skilful. As to the surgeons of the companies, scarce can they shave. On a review of recruits, a colonel will order a common peasant, who shall have followed the plough-tail for twenty years, to be a surgeon: the poor fellow protests, in vain, that he has no inclination to the profession, and that he shall never be able to learn it; this avails him nothing, he must apply to it; and if he has a thick head, it is made more penetrable by dint of blows. In the same manner are their hautbois chosen; so that one may easily judge what fine concerts of military music are to be heard in their armies.

The mortality of the cattle was extremely great during this campaign, there having fallen but little rain, which made the grass dry up sooner than usual. The Tartars did not fail of setting fire to it, so that the army often made two marches without finding grass enough for their horses and horned cattle. The artillery alone lost above fifteen thousand pairs of oxen; true, however, it is, that this was partly imputed to the bad arrangements
taken

1737-

taken by the Prince of Hesse, in not appointing, when the army first took the field, a sufficient number of supernumerary sets for draught, which he might have done, as there was a surplussage of some hundreds of pairs of oxen. The army had not got on above ten marches, before there was a deficiency felt in the train of artillery; for some pairs of oxen being foundered, there was a necessity for diminishing the number employed in the draught of the heavy artillery, so that its not being possible for it to follow quick enough, often occasioned a retardment in the march; an inconvenience which did not cease till the arrival of the army before Ockzakow. That town being taken, the marshal ordered the greatest part of the artillery to be left there, and that no more should be taken back than could be conveniently drawn. The Prince of Hesse, instead of following this order, left but a small part of the artillery in that place, so that, at the second or third march, there was no getting the train on. In coming out of the camp, more than a fourth of the cattle were foundered on the spot, and the rear-guard was sometimes obliged to stop for twenty-four hours, till such oxen as had drawn one part of the artillery into the new camp, were sent back to fetch the remainder in the old one. This obliged the marshal to build the fort of St. Andrew on the side of the Bogh, and to send a great part of the artillery with the fleet to Ockzakow.

This is one of the reasons that contributed to hinder any farther confidence being placed in the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, and to his having had no command of consequence since. If the Russians had had to deal with an enemy that had any skill, they would have lost two-thirds of their artillery; perhaps more, for there were several very necessary precautions neglected.

While

1737.
Campaign
in the Cri-
mea under
marshal
Lacy.

While the army, commanded by count Munich, was making the campaign on the side of Ockzakow, marshal Lacy marched into Crimea with another army, consisting of thirteen regiments of dragoons, twenty regiments of infantry, and from ten to twelve thousand Cossacks and Calmucks, the whole amounting to about forty thousand combatants.

The generals who commanded under Lacy were, the general Lewaschew, the lieutenant-general Douglass, Spiegel and Brilly, and the major-generals Jerepkin, Brigny the younger, Dewitz, &c.

The infantry of this army, in the beginning of the spring, assembled at the river Mius, opposite to the small fort of Pawlowsky, and thence marched in several columns to the river Calmius, where they rested some time, to wait for the fleet under the command of the rear-admiral Bredal, which was to act in concert with them on the sea of Azoph, so as to second their enterprises in Crimea. As soon as it was arrived, Lacy continued his march to the river of Berda. There it was that the whole army assembled.

Count Douglass had brought the dragoons, who had had their rendezvous at Backmouth, by the directest way through the *steps*. Lacy established some redoubts at proper intervals for keeping up the communication with Azoph.

After the marshal had held several conferences with the rear-admiral Bredal, who had joined him with the fleet, which he kept at anchor at the mouth of the Berda, and concerted with him the operations of the campaign, he resumed the march with the army, keeping as close as he well could along the shore of the sea of Azoph. Being arrived at the river Molotzchni-Wodie, he built a fort there, in which he left a good garrison, and all the sick of the army.

June

June 26, The army encamped on the shore of that arm of the sea of Azoph, which joins the lines of Precop; the fleet did not lie there at above a cannon-shot distance from it.

Lacy, who wanted to enter without loss of time into Crimea, instantly ordered the construction of a bridge, which was finished by the 28th; and some regiments of dragoons, and three or four thousand Cossacks, passed over it immediately. By the 30th, the whole army was got over, and continued its march along-shore of the sea of Azoph.

July 2, It was joined by four thousand Calmucks, whom Goldan Nama, a son of the Khawn of the Calmucks, had brought with him.

The Khawn of the Tartars of Crimea, who had never imagined that the Russians would enter his country on that side, was astonished at it when he received the news. He had posted himself, with all his troops, behind the lines of Precop, which he had taken care to get repaired, and hoped to dispute the pass of them with the Russians more successfully than had been done by the old Khawn the year before. But all this was so much trouble in vain. Lacy was now in full march against Arabat, without having lost a single man.

As the Russian army was obliged to continue its march on a narrow enough spit of land, formed by the sea of Azoph, which stretches as far as Arabat, the Khawn imagined he might retrieve and rectify every thing at the outlet of that streight. He marched then with all diligence, in the hope of stopping the Russian army at the lines, which care had been taken to form along the front of that spit of land, so as to compel it either to a retreat, or even to a battle, if it should obstinately contend for passing.

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1737. But Lacy broke all his measures. As soon as he heard that the Khawn was arrived at Arabat, and that he was there waiting for him, he caused the depth of that arm of the sea, which separates this spot of land from the rest of Crimea, to be sounded; and having found a place proper for this purpose, he had rafts made; for the construction of which, all the empty casks of the army, and main timber-pieces of the chevaux de frise, were employed, and by this means crossed this arm of the sea, with the infantry and equipages. The dragoons, Cossacks, or Calmucks, swam or forded it over.

It had not been the Khawn alone who had judged this a rash enterprise of the marshal Lacy, when he marched on the spit of land towards Arabat, for the generals of his own army were of the same opinion. All of them, except Spiegel, waited on him one morning, and represented to him, that he was exposing the troops too much, and that they were all running a risk of perishing together. The marshal answered them, That danger there was in all military enterprises, but that he did not see more in this one than in others. However, he desired their counsel of what they thought was best to be done. They replied, "To return." Upon which Lacy rejoined, That since the generals had a mind to return, he would dispatch them their passports for it, and actually called for his secretary, whom he ordered to make them out, and immediately to deliver them to them. He even commanded a party of two hundred dragoons to escort them to the Ukrain, there to wait his return. It was three days before the generals could prevail on the marshal to relent, and forgive them the presumption they had shewn in proposing to him a retreat.

The Khawn, who had imagined he should beat the Russian army at the outlet near Arabat, was extremely

extremely surprised at learning that it had crossed the arm of the sea, and was now in full march towards him. But he did not think fit to wait for it. He retreated towards the mountains, harassed with the Cossacks and Calmucks close at his heels. Lacy, having advice of the retreat of the enemy, would not continue his march towards Arabat, but wheeled to the right, in order to get among the mountains in quest of the Khawn, and to give him battle, if the thing was practicable.

July 23, The Russian army encamped at the distance of twenty-six wersts, or seven French leagues from one of the best towns of Crimea, called Karas-Bazar. There it was attacked by a large choice body of troops, commanded by the Khawn in person. These attacks were at first very vigorous, but, after an hour's combat, the Tartars were repulsed, and driven off the field by the Cossacks and Calmucks, who pursued them fifteen wersts, or four leagues, into the mountains.

The army remained in the same camp, but the light troops made an excursion on the side of Karas-Bazar, to ruin the habitations of the Tartars. They returned the same day, with about six hundred prisoners, a considerable booty, and a great quantity of cattle.

July 25, The lieutenant general Douglas commanded the vanguard, with six thousand men, dragoons and foot, and the greatest part of the light troops, to march to Karas-Bazar. Marshal Lacy followed them with the rest of the army, having left in camp the equipages and the sick, with five thousand men to guard them, under the orders of brigadier Kolokoltzow.

All the advanced guards that sought to oppose the passage of the troops were repulsed; and presently there was discovered, on a rising ground

1737. near the town, a retrenched camp, in which there might be about from twelve to fifteen thousand Turks. Upon this, the marshal reinforced Douglas with two regiments of dragoons, giving him orders to attack the enemy, and to take possession of Karas-Bazar. This was executed with all imaginable success; the Turks having fled after about an hour's combat.

The inhabitants had entirely abandoned the town, so that there were none remaining in it but some Greek and Armenian families. The place then was taken without any resistance, pillaged, and reduced to ashes. This town, of which above one half was built of stone, contained about ten thousand houses, thirty-eight mosques and Turkish chapels, two Christian churches for the Greeks and Armenians, fifty water-mills, and a number of other public buildings. The booty the troops made was very considerable, the inhabitants not having had time to save their effects. As the town is situate in the avenues to the hills, where the passes are so narrow that scarce three men can march abreast; and that, besides, there was no forage, the marshal measured back his steps, and encamped at a league distance from that place. The Cossack and Calmucks had orders to penetrate as far as they well could into the mountains, and to burn and destroy all the habitations of the Tartars.

July 26, The army marched back to occupy the same camp in which they had left their equipages and the sick. Scarce had they got into the plain, before they saw the enemies advancing, with the greatest part of their forces, on the other side of the river Karas. Marshal Lacy instantly detached Douglas, with several regiments of foot and dragoons, and a part of the light troops, to attack them. Douglas crossed the river a league
above

1737.

above the enemies, and marched strait to them. They cannonaded one another for near an hour, after which the Cossacks came to blows with the enemies. The skirmish was smart on both sides. The Cossacks were thrice repulsed; but the regular troops coming up in fine order, and with a steady countenance, obliged the enemies to retreat. The army encamped on the field of battle.

During the action, Lacy had ordered the Calmucks to take the enemies in rear and flank. After the affair was over, no Calmucks appeared: at which the marshal was rather uneasy, apprehending they might have pursued the enemies too far among the mountains, so as to have their retreat to the army cut off, or to have all been put to the sword. But two days afterwards they returned to the camp, bringing with them above a thousand prisoners, among whom were several Mirzas, whom they had taken in an inroad which they had, of their own heads made into the mountains, as far as Bachtchi-Seraï.

July 27. The army resumed the camp which it had occupied before its proceeding to Karas-Bazar. The marshal then held there a grand council of war, in which it was resolved, that since the plan of operations prescribed to them had been executed, and that there remained nothing considerable to be undertaken by them, it would be adviseable to draw nearer again to the frontiers of the Crimea.

It took the army up five days to get from this camp to the mouth of the Scoungar, in all which time the light troops had nothing to do but to reduce to ashes all the habitations of the Tartars, that were for four or five leagues round the army, and of which the number might be equivalent to a thousand villages, or little open towns, the country being extremely populous on that side.

They

1737. They brought also to the camp above thirty thousand oxen, and more than a hundred thousand sheep.

The enemies, on their part, did not cease to harass the army in its march, and sometimes found means to carry off some of the officers servants, who had ventured to go beyond the precinct of the advanced posts, as also some hundreds of horses of the train and equipages.

As soon as the army was arrived at the Schoungar, a bridge of boats was ordered to be got ready, and was finished by the next morning, the 2d of August; when, on the same day, part of the army crossed it, and had scarce the time to form, when the enemies appeared with their whole force to oppose the passing. They had been reinforced with some thousands of Turks from the Kaffa. They attacked several times, with great violence, the light troops, but were constantly repulsed. At length, tired with their fruitless attempts, and with losing so many men by the cannon, they retreated, leaving about an hundred killed on the spot.

August 4, The marshal passed the Scoungar with the rest of the army. There they remained a few days encamped; after which they went on to camp, near the river Molotschie-Wodi, where the marshal staid out the whole month of August, having found a country abounding with forage.

During that time, he detached several parties of light troops towards Precop, and towards the Dnieper, to reconnoitre the motions of the enemies, for he had received advice, that the Khawn, with from thirty to forty thousand men, was come out of Crimea, to attempt some enterprize.

August 17, One of the Russian parties fell in with another of Tartars, which they beat, and brought into the camp several prisoners. These said, it was true, that the Khawn had come from behind

behind the lines of Precop immediately after that the Russian army had passed over the Schoungar, and had encamped several days on the *steps*; but that, on learning that the marshal Lacy had posted himself near Molotzchnie-Wodi, he was afraid of his coming to attack him, which had determined him to re-enter the lines, and retreat to his own country.

1737.

August 9, The Russian fleet, under the rear-admiral Bredal, had a rencounter with that of the Turks. The action came on in this manner. Bredal, having got a breast of the point of Wiskowa with his fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, all double sloops, and other small vessels (the large not having been able to get over the flats at the mouth of the river Don), perceived some Turkish vessels, who were bearing down to the same point. Upon this, he thought fit to get closer again into shore, and came to an anchor in the most convenient place. Towards two o'clock in the afternoon, the whole Turkish fleet appeared in the Offing. It consisted of two men of war, of thirteen galleys, and of forty-seven half-galleys. One of the men of war had hoisted the captain Bashaw's flag. Bredal took all the necessary measures for making a good defence. He caused his vessels to draw as close as possible to the shore, where he planted fifteen three-pounders, and two twelve-pounders. At five the cannonade began, equally brisk on both sides, which lasted till eight o'clock, when the Turks ceased firing, and retreated out of gun-shot. The Russians had suffered very little, almost all the Turkish shot having carried over.

Engage-
ment of
the fleets.

Aug. 10, At eight o'clock of the morning the Turks returned to the attack. The ship that carried the Bashaw's flag was that which ventured the nearest to the Russian fleet, and kept up a hot firing upon it. But it was returned with such success from the guns of the double sloops, and from those

1737. those planted on the shore, that the enemies were obliged to draw off in confusion. The captain Bashaw's ship, and some other of their vessels, were much damaged. On the part of the Russians, there were not above thirty men, in all, killed and wounded.

August 11, The Turkish fleet remained till noon in sight of the Russian, and then weighing anchor, got into the Offing, steering eastward. As some days had passed without having any the least news of the enemy, Bredal, on the 20th, detached a sloop, which brought back word, that, having proceeded as far as the mouth of the river Berda, there had not appeared so much as a single vessel of the enemy. Some days afterwards advice came, that their fleet had passed the streight, and got into Caffa.

Lacy's army returns to the Ukraine.

In the beginning of the month of September, count Lacy quitted his camp of Molotchnie-Wodi, and resumed the *route* to Ukrain. The Tartars, very glad at seeing him take his departure, let him alone, without harassing him on his march. In the month of October, he arrived at the frontiers of Russia, and sent his troops into winter-quarters along the Don and Donetz.

Here I take leave to mention a very curious fact, that, in the course of this campaign, occurred to the Russian army. I have it from the marshal himself. While he was on the march to Crimea, there was, one day near the camp, found a yellowish colored water, with a somewhat bitter taste. A great number, as well of officers as of soldiers, being urged by thirst, drank of it. A little while after, all who had taken draughts of this water, appeared drunk, and, as it were stupified, staggering and reeling. The marshal was terribly alarmed at this: he was afraid of losing his troops before they had seen the enemy. But a few hours of their sleep relieved him from this anxiety. They only had a diarrhoea upon it, which

which lasted some hours. There are, it seems, 1737.
many springs of this kind on the frontiers of Persia, on the side of Kislar.

One of the most considerable events in the course of the year 1737, was, the siege of Ockzakow, which the Turks undertook in the month of October, and which they were obliged to raise by the gallant defence of general Stoffeln. The
Turks be-
siege Ock-
zakow.

The Turks, who had not been able to gain any advantage over the Russians during the whole campaign, had conceived hopes of better success in the autumn, now that, by the beginning of October, the Russian army was already on the other side of the Boristhenes (Dnieper.) They resolved then on the siege of Ockzakow.

But before I enter on an account of this siege, I must recur to some antecedences. I have already, speaking of the reduction of Ockzakow by the Russian army, observed, that the town was nothing but a heap of stones and rubbish, and that the garrison could not find so much as lodging-room in it, so that from the first instant of taking possession, had been employed on nothing but making all the possible arrangements for convenience and defence.

It has also been precedently shewn, that the town of Ockzakow was situated in the middle of a desert, where not only all the materials for the building of houses, but even the greatest necessities of life, were wanting. Great care had indeed been taken to send every thing of that kind from Russia by the fleet. But the falls of the Dnieper, and bad weather, often hinder the boats from arriving in time, so that the garrison sometimes suffered extremely by the retardment. Besides which, it was obliged to work without respite at the construction of lodgments for the winter, and at augmenting the fortifications, by the lines designed to be carried quite round the place

1737. place from the Liman, or mouth of the river, to the Black-Sea.

These great fatigues, combined with the scanty sustenance of the soldiers, and the cadaverous exhalation of above forty thousand human corpses, and carcases of dead beasts together, did not fail of causing great sicknesses. The garrison, which had been composed of eight thousand men, saw itself, by the end of September, reduced to five thousand, of whom too there were above a thousand sick. Such was the condition of the garrison, with which Stoffeln stood a siege, and forced the Turks to raise it.

The enemies had, from time to time, sent parties, which always kept at a distance, without undertaking any thing but the carrying off some cattle; so that the garrison had remained quiet enough for any motion of the enemies, till the 17th of October, when, for the first time, some Turkish vessels came to anchor within gun-shot of Kinburn. There, however, they did not stay but two hours, afraid, as they were, of being attacked by the Russian fleet, which was then in the port of Ockzakow. They made sail again, and met with a severe storm.

October 19, Towards midnight, a great detachment of the Turkish cavalry drew near to the new redoubt, erected near the Liman, and, dismounting, thought to surprise the garrison, but, having been discovered, they were fired upon, which obliged them to retreat in a hurry. Their expedition had not, however, been quite in vain since they found means to carry off near a hundred oxen, that were grazing before the lines, and their guard.

October 24, Stoffeln received advice, by a Cossack party, that the enemy was not above ten leagues from Ockzakow, upon which he redoubled

doubled his vigilance and care for putting every thing into the best condition possible for making a vigorous defence.

1737.

He held a council of war with the officers of the garrison, in which it was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity, and neither to take nor give quarter.

October 26, The enemy's vanguard appeared before Ockzakow. At night the place was invested on the land-side; and the next day (the 27th) the whole Turkish army came to an encampment, at half gun-shot from the glacis. Scarce had they unfolded their tents, before some detachments came to insult the redoubts; others of them skirmished with the Cossacks, who were commanded by the colonel Kapnist, but without being able to do them any the least hurt. Kapnist had taken care to keep his rear close to the glacis, so as to prevent the enemy's surrounding him. The rest of the army fell to opening the trenches, in broad day-light, to make retrenchments, and to erect batteries, which they did with so much diligence, that the night following they began to batter, and to throw their bombs.

The enemy's army being composed of twenty thousand Turks, and thirty thousand Tartars, the seraskier Jentzch Ally Bashaw, the Khawn of Crimea Begli-Gheri, and the Sultan of Bielogorod, had the command of it.

October 28, At day-break, Stoffeln called into the town, the regiments that had been encamped in the precinct of the outworks.

The Turks had, in the night-time, made their approaches to the foot of the glacis, and had posted some thousands of men between the fort and the new *fleche*. At eight in the morning, a body of about six thousand Turks came on to attack

1737. attack the lines in two places. Fifteen hundred of them fixed on the part where the regiment of Smolensko had begun to build its barrack, and the rest attacked the *fleche*, constructed before the gate of Preobrazchensky. Upon this, a command of four hundred men sallied out, with some cannon, from Christopher's Gate, and marched directly against those that were carrying on the attack of the barracks, whom they obliged to retreat; but as these, on their repulse, went to join those who were making the other attack, this detachment pursued them, and fell on them rear and flank, which obliged the enemies to fly, and quit all the posts they had occupied. They were pursued to their batteries, and had four colors and two barrels of powder taken from them. Their loss amounted to above four hundred men.

At ten o'clock, the Turks returned to the attack, but without coming nearer than musket-shot; and while the small arms on both sides were keeping up a continual fire, another of their detachments retrenched itself in one of the neighbouring gardens, where they placed a cannon and mortar, with which they did not cease firing on the *fleche*, from which they had been repulsed, till two at night. On the same day, colonel Wedel, who was with two regiments at Kinburn, having had orders to repair, with the best part of his garrison, to Ockzakow, arrived there with eight hundred men; the enemies had, indeed appeared in sight of Kinburn, but without undertaking any thing, though the Khawn of Crimea had boasted of having sent a detachment of Tartars to that town, to raze it to the ground.

October 29, The enemies gave a general assault at the gate of Ishmaëlow, where the bad weather had caused the filling up a part of the ditch,

ditch, and penetrated into the covered-way ; but they were presently driven out of it again, and pursued to even behind their retrenchment. They would have been pursued farther, if they had not been sustained by a body of reserve. They lost above five hundred men, and three colors. The same day, the enemies perfected their third battery, from which they began to throw large bomb-shells, and to fire several eighteen and twenty-four pounders ; those they had employed hitherto not being above twelve-pounders. The enemy worked the whole night at making a retrenchment on a rising ground, opposite to the gate of Ishmaëlow, with redoubts, and occupied it on the 30th. The firing was continual on both sides. On the evening, the besieged made a sally towards the redoubts, along the Liman, and drove them from all the posts they were occupying on that side, killed them near a hundred and fifty men, took from them four colors, and nailed up six of their pieces of cannon. Major Antziforow, who commanded the detachment on this sally, was killed.

At night, an officer, with fifty men, found means to pass unperceived the posts of the enemies, and got with his detachment into the camp, where he killed a number of the enemy in their tents. It was above half an hour before there was the least alarm ; but, having at length began to plunder the tents, after they had killed those in them, there were but six that could get off, all the rest were cut to pieces.

October 31, The firing continued with the same vivacity as the preceding evening. A shell from the besiegers fell on one of the bastions, and set fire to some barrels of powder, by which some men were killed. Towards the evening, two galleys of the enemy drew near to the redoubts, and began to cannonade them, but were so well answered,

1737- answered, that they were soon obliged to sheer off. There were not, during the whole siege successively, counted above fourteen Turkish galleys, not one of which could enter the Liman for the cannon of Kinburn.

November 1, The firing did not slacken: and a shell falling on the bastion, near the Christopher-Gate towards the Liman, made some grenades blow up, but without any other damage.

November 2, A bomb blew up a small magazine of powder, by which three men were killed. Seven gallies appeared in the offing, and kept coasting along till under Ockzakow, over against the enemies camp.

November 3, The besieged compleated the traverses in the grand fosseé and in the covered-way, and drew a line of communication from the gate of Preobraschensky to a retrenchment, that reached from the Kalantzcha to the sea, which they had begun the 1st and 2d.

November 4, Two hours before day-break, the fire of the artillery and small arms became very violent on the side of the Ishmaëlow-Gate; and no sooner did the morning dawn, than six thousand Turks gave a furious assault to the redoubt which had been built near the sea. After an hour's combat, they forced the retrenchment, got masters of the redoubts, and penetrated to the Kalantzcha. But this advantage they did not hold long. Stoffeln having ordered out from the town a sally of a thousand men, under brigadier Bratke, these repulsed them on all sides, drove them out of the retrenchments and redoubts, and pursued them even into their camp. The confusion on this was general throughout the whole Turkish army: there were some that already began to quit the camp, and betake themselves to flight, nor was it till after their own officers had killed several of them, that they could accomplish the
reducing

reducing them to order and duty, and the bringing them back to the camp. This assault cost the enemy near two thousand men. The besieged did not lose above a hundred and fifty men; nor would even their loss have been so great, if it had not been for the ungovernable impetuosity of about thirty men, who, not content with having driven away the enemies, pursued them too far, though forbidden by the officers: they were all cut to pieces, as soon as the Tartars were recovered from their first surprise.

The small cohorns for flinging grenades, did special service on this occasion.

November 5, and 6, The enemies redoubled the fire of their artillery, and threw a great quantity of shells into the town, but could do no damage, as there were no houses, and the garrison was distributed on the ramparts, in the covered-way, and in the redoubts.

November 8, An hour before day, the enemy, opening two mines they had made over against the bastion of Lowendahl, but which, not being deep enough, neither damaged the palisades, nor did any mischief to the troops behind them.

An hour and a half afterwards, the Turks made a false attack on the redoubt situate upon a rising ground on the side of the Liman, sustained by the fire of their whole artillery: after which, they wheeled all on a sudden to the right; and, turning their efforts towards the gate of Ishmaëlow, gave a general assault with their whole infantry, and five thousand spahis, who had been obliged to dismount and go on a-foot. The attack was made with such fury, that three thousand men forced the palisades, and penetrated to the gate of Ishmaëlow; some hundreds more had also passed the palisades over against Christopher-Gate, and pushing the attack as far as into the fosseé or ditch, had got to the water-gate. But the garrison

1737. rison defended themselves so well, that the enemies were soon repulsed, and driven back again as far as their own retrenchments. Their loss amounted to four thousand men by two mines, which, during the assault, the besiegers having sprung with all imaginable success, contributed much to the rout of the Turks, having blown up a great number of them into the air: the others, in the apprehension of the like fate, were so intimidated, that it was impossible for the officers to keep them from retreating, and running away. In the time of the assault, Stoffeln commanded on the side of the covered-way, and the brigadier Bratke, with colonel Wedel, were on the water-gate side. The besieged took, on this occasion, a number of colors, four horse-tails, a great many scaling-ladders, fascines, and utensils for sapping, which were all brought into the town.

It was during this siege, and especially in this action that the Russians drew great service from their pikes; for, while the enemies were in the fosseé, and bent on attacking the water-gate, the colonels Wedel and La Tour made a sally out from another gate, marched up to them, in a column, and to keep them from closing in with them, made no use but of their pikes, as the only thing to ward off the Turkish sabres.

The
Turks
raise the
siege.

The enemy did not afterwards, for the whole day, fire a single gun, nor till the next, the 9th, did the batteries begin playing again, which they did with redoubled fury: they brought out, in open light, scaling-ladders and fascines to the approaches, for a fresh assault: but, three hours after sun-set, the cannonade ceased all on a sudden, and, soon after, fires were seen in different parts of their camp. On this, a detachment from the garrison went out, and having pushed as far as into the enemy's camp, found not a soul there, nor a gun, nor a mortar, on the batteries.

November

1737.

November 10, At break of day, there was, for fear of any surprise, a stronger detachment sent; and it was not long before a confirmation was brought of the first report, that the enemies had precipitantly decamped, and betaken themselves to flight, having left behind them a great quantity of bomb-shells, grenadoes, and ammunition, besides their fascines, scaling-ladders, pick-axes, and other tools for the sap.

Some Zaporavian Cossacks, who had made an excursion from their capital, quite to the gates of Bender, arrived the same day at Ockzakow, and reported, that the enemies had, at noon, passed the river Berosouka, at fourteen wersts, or four French leagues, from Ockzakow.

November 11, Advice was received they had already gotten ten leagues off. The same day the garrison cleared the fosseé, and all round the town, of the dead bodies: there were found three thousand of the enemies killed, at only that assault of the eighth, preceding.

This siege cost the Turks above twenty thousand men, of whom at least the half perished of sickness, the season being too far advanced before they undertook it. The continual rains they had to endure, contributed, doubtless, greatly to the mortality, and to the miscarriage of their enterprise.

After the Turks being repulsed at the last assault, near ten thousand men immediately set out on the return to their own country; nor could either the entreaties or the severities of the officers, who caused several of them to be beheaded, engage them to return to the camp and to their duty. The others, who remained, began to murmur openly, saying, that there must be a design to have them massacred in vain, that it was impossible to take such a place as Ockzakow in so advanced a season, especially as the besieged defended themselves like lions; that, in short, they

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would

1737. would not go on a step to the assault. Such speeches obliged the seraskier to raise the siege, having reason to be afraid of his being deserted by his troops, and of losing a numerous artillery, if he was to persist obstinately a few days longer.

The loss of the garrison amounted to above two thousand men. It had been four thousand strong on the day that the Turks invested the place, and had, as above noted, received a reinforcement of eight hundred men, whom colonel Wedel brought them from Kinburn; and on the day that the enemies raised the siege, there were not above two thousand in the town in health, or condition of service.

From the first day of the siege to the last, the whole garrison had been diminished on the ramparts in the covered-way, and in the redoubts, where they had remained night and day, without being relieved; and, indeed, scarce was there a number sufficient to man all the posts. Such fatigues then could not fail of producing sicknesses; and as, withal, there was a want in the place of many necessaries even for subsistence, the common soldiers were at length so emaciated, that they could hardly support themselves on their feet: notwithstanding which, they did their duty admirably well, and without murmuring; nor were there, in the whole space of time that the Turks invested the place, but two deserters.

All the time this siege lasted, marshal Munich was in great anxiety. He had, it is true, taken all the precautions that depended on him to make the enterprise of the enemies miscarry, but he had not dared to hope it, considering the bad state in which he knew the garrison then was. As soon, however, as he learnt that the place was invested, he made fresh arrangements for sending succours to it. General Leontew had orders to march with ten thousand men. Several regiments were also embarked in boats to go down the Dni-

eper.

eper. These had already passed the falls, when they received the news that the Turks had broke up the siege and retreated. The joy was the greater, for this having been the less expected.

1737.

The Empress was extremely pleased with the conduct of general Stoffeln; and was not contented with only promoting him to be a lieutenant-general, but made him a donation of very considerable lands in Ukraïn. Bratke was made major-general, and the whole garrison had a gratification of several months pay.

The fleet, which lay near to the town of Ockzakow, and which consisted of about an hundred sail, for the most part double sloops, contributed greatly to the raising of the siege; for, besides its hindering the Turks from investing the place to the seaward, it seconded to very good purpose the fire from the ramparts. The commandant of the Turkish fleet, who had had orders to attack and beat that of Russia, lost his head for not having executed them.

I question whether there are any troops in the world that could, or rather would, patiently endure such fatigues as the Russians endured at the siege of Ockzakow; and this confirms me in the opinion I have always had, that the Russians are capable of undertaking and executing every thing, when they are well led: but it is requisite they should have a number of foreign officers, as the soldiers have more confidence in them than in those of their own nation.

After having pursued, without interruption, a narrative of the operations of the campaign, I shall here insert some other remarkable facts that collaterally occurred in the course of the year

1737.

The courts of Petersburg and Vienna had already, under the reign of Catherine, concluded a strict alliance, which was yet closer drawn in that

Some remarkable facts in the year of 1737.

1737. of the Empress Anne. It had been agreed, that in the case of one of those powers being obliged to come to a rupture with the Porte, the other should assist it with thirty thousand men, and at the same time declare war, if the situation of things would permit it. In consequence of this treaty, the Emperor had, during the year 1736, made all the necessary dispositions in Hungary, and the war was declared in the year 1737.

Congress
of Nemi-
row.

They did not, however, in the mean time, neglect a recourse to negotiation. The small town of Nemirow was pitched upon for the holding a congress. It is situated in Poland, on the river of Bogh, at a little distance from the frontiers of Walachia, and belongs to the count Potolski, the crown-general of Poland. The court of Petersburg sent thither the baron Shafirow, Mons. Walinski, and Mons. Nepluew; that of Vienna, the count Ostein, the baron Thalman, and the count Weldreg: the Porte, the Ruz Effendi, or Grand Chancellor; Metereï, and Mustapha Effendis, these last both viziers of the bench. The congress commenced on the 16th of August; but as not one of the three belligerent powers would give up a tittle of their respective pretensions, the negotiations did not hold long, and the congress broke up on the 14th of October. The count Ostein returned to Petersburg, where he had resided several years in quality of minister-plenipotentiary; but the Russian ministers remained the rest of the year at Kiow, in order to be at hand if there should an overture offer for renewing the negotiations.

The court
of Vienna
requests
troops
from that
of Peter-
burgh.

The count Ostein, after his return to Petersburg, exerted his utmost efforts to persuade the Russian court to send a large body of troops by the way of Walachia into Hungary, there to join the Imperial army, in order to act with the more efficacy on that side. The general marqués de

Botta

1737.

Botta was sent from Vienna to second the negotiation; but marshal Munich being arrived at court, managed so as to alledge such good reasons against this auxiliary measure, that it was refused. The plan of Russia was to have its own armies act by themselves, and by attacking the Porte on two sides, to make a diversion considerable enough to hinder the whole Turkish power from falling on the Imperial army. And, indeed, it fairly appeared at the end of the war, that if the Emperor had been as well served as Russia, he would not have been obliged to yield to the most shameful peace that had been made for many ages.

The court of Vienna had never been very well pleased with count Munich, nor was it for want of its wishing it that that general was not put out of employ many years before his melancholic disgrace. Munich, on his part, was even with it, in point of good will; proud as he himself was, he could never endure the haughtiness of the Austrian court, nor missed any occasion of making the Empress and the ministry of Petersburg remark it. I am persuaded, that, if he had remained at the head of affairs, the two courts would not have been so united as they are.

The colonel Barenklaw had been sent from Vienna to make the campaign with the Russian army, to observe the operations, and give an account of them to his court. On the part of Russia, the colonel Darewski, and some other officers, had been sent to the imperial army, for the same purpose, of observation and intelligence. After the reduction of Ockzakow, Barenklaw gave advice of it to his court; and in a letter written to count Osteyn at Nemirow, he inserted, among other critical reflexions, that true it was, that never had troops attacked a town with more courage; but that as to the generals, they were, all of them, without exception, only capable at the most of
being

1737- being captains of grenadeers. Ofstein gave a copy of this letter to the Russian ministers who did not fail to send it to Petersburg, whence it was transmitted to count Munich, who, as well may be judged, was extremely incensed at Barenklaw. He gave him a most severe reprimand, and treated him with all the haughtiness and contempt imaginable.

All this only served to increase the hatred of the court of Vienna against him. Barenklaw was recalled, and the colonel baron de Rusky sent in his room, who made the two campaigns of 1738 and 1739 with the Russian army.

As to the colonel Darewsku, whom the court of Petersburg had sent in the year 1737 to the Imperial army, he was employed the two ensuing years in Poland, on negotiations with the nobles of that kingdom, and M. de Brown was sent in his room to the Imperial army, who, in the unfortunate affair of Kroutskaw, was taken prisoner by the Turks, and ransomed by the marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador.

Count Bi-
ron elect-
ed duke
of Cour-
land.

It was also in the course of this year 1737, that count Biron was elected duke of Courland. The duke Ferdinand of the house of Kettler died at Dantzick, by which demise all the male line was extinct. The court of Petersburg, on receiving advice of this, instantly ordered general Bismark, governor of Riga, to enter that duchy with the troops under his command, to support the election of a new duke. The nobility of Courland having, in the mean while assembled at Mittaw, repaired to the cathedral, where, after having sung the *Veni Creator*, Ernest John de Biron was elected duke of Courland by a majority of votes. Here it is to be observed, that the general Bismark had posted some companies of horse in the church-yard of the cathedral, and in the town, so that the election could not fail. I have above
set

1737.

set forth the genealogy of this new duke. The nobility of Courland, which had been very splendid, and had enjoyed great liberty under the government of the preceding dukes, saw itself all on a sudden in quite another situation. No one durst open his mouth without incurring the risque of being seized, and sent to Siberia. For executing this, a most particular method of procedure was used. The party, who had given offence by speaking, was, in the moment he least thought of it, laid hold of by persons in masks, who threw him into a covered carriage, and conveyed him to the remotest provinces of Russia. There were several of these seizures attended with spiriting away in that manner during the three years that Ernest John reigned, but one, among others, so singular and so comic, that I cannot well resist the temptation of inserting it here.

A gentleman, whose name was Sacken, standing one evening before the door of his country-house, was carried off and thrown into one of these covered carriages. He was for near two years carried about several provinces, without suffering him to see any human creature, not even his conductors themselves ever appearing before him barefaced. At the end of that time, one night the horses were taken out of the carriage, and he was left to lie in it. There he remained quietly till the morning, in the expectation of being made to continue his journey as usual. Broad day-light came on, without any one's coming to him, and all on a sudden he heard persons talking in the Courland language, near his carriage, upon which he opened it, and finds himself at the door of his own house. He made his complaints to the duke, who did not fail of acting the farce of representing his grievance to the court of Russia, whence an answer came, that if he could point out the persons who had done this action, it would take care to have them rigorously punished.

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1737.

I return now to the military operations. The Calmucks had made a fresh invasion of the Cuban, of which they laid waste a great part, and reduced the remainder to an entire subjection to the Empress of Russia. The winter-quarters of the army were the same as those of the preceding year; that is to say, in Ukrain, where a great part of the regiments was employed in breaking the ice of the Dnieper, and in guarding the frontiers against the invasion of the Tartars; all which could not, however, prevent their making now and then inroads.

1738.
Invasion
of Ukrain
by the
Tartars.

It was in the month of February they attempted a very considerable one, but which, after all, came to little. The Khawn himself was in it, at the head, as was assured, of forty thousand men. His design had been to force the lines of the Ukrain, to penetrate deeply into the country, and to put every thing to fire and sword. On his approach to the lines, he found it would be too dangerous to enter on that side, because his retreat might be cut off, so that he took his way by Izoum, where there are no lines, and where there are extensive plains. He would not, however, risque the entering with his whole army into the enemy's country, but posting himself at the river of Danetz, he only sent off large detachments, who found means to burn a number of villages, and to carry off a great many prisoners from the flat country. In the mean while, the generals, who had in charge the guard of the frontiers, had assembled the troops under their orders, and directed their march so well, that some of those Tartar detachments were overtaken by the way, and their retreat cut off, and the booty they had made recovered from them. And when the troops were collected together, and advancing to attack the Tartar army, the Khawn thought fit to retreat as fast as he could.

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The marshal, who was just, at the time this happened, returning from Petersburg to his headquarters at Pultowa, pursued the enemy, for some marches, into the *steps*, but could not come up with them. After which the troops returned into their winter-quarters.

Count Munich, who proposed to open the campaign as soon as possible, set the regiments to work at preparing their equipages, and ordered them to provide themselves with biscuit for several months. For in Russia nothing but crude materials is furnished to the soldier, he must get every thing done himself; carriages, clothes, and even bread, are all made in the regiment. The flour is served out, but the soldier is obliged to bake the bread, and make it into biscuits, because they are more portable, and less apt to spoil with keeping.

In the beginning of the year, the court made a great promotion of general officers; and that the military chest might not suffer by such an increase of the establishment, those regiments were left to the new generals which they had before in quality of colonels, so that the commissary, supplementally to their profits by that, only paid them the surplus, so as to make up what they were to receive as generals. For in Russia the promotion to the rank of general used to take away the regiment.

In the beginning of April, the regiments had marching orders for the general rendezvous of the army, which was, as the year before, near to Perewoltschna.

Campaign
of 1738,
marshal
Munich.

By the first day of May, the whole army was assembled, and passed the Dnieper on a bridge of boats.

The generals, who served this campaign under the Marshal Munich, were, the general Romanzow, the lieutenant-generals Sagraïsky, Charles Biron, Lowendahl, and Gustavus Biron; the major-generals Prince Antony Ulrick of Brunswick, the

1738. the Prince of Holstein Beck, Butterlin, Lieven, Keyserling, Fermor, Magnus Biron, Philosophow, Chrouzchew, Stackman, Prince Basilus Repnin, &c.

Lowendahl commanded especially the artillery; for the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, who had married at Peterburgh, neither served this campaign nor the following one; the court being dissatisfied at his conduct in the two preceding ones.

Neither could Keith serve this campaign nor the ensuing one, upon the account of the wound he had received at Ockzakow; but the Empress gave him the grant of general in chief, which answers to that of general of the infantry, or of cavalry in the German service. During this campaign he remained at Pultowa, and had the command of all the troops that were left to guard the Ukrain. For this year's campaign, the marshal Munich's army was not, at the most, above fifty-five thousand strong, including the Cossacks.

Passage of
the Bogh.

After the army had crossed the Dnieper, it marched on very quietly and leisurely, without hurrying itself, as far as the river Bogh, where it arrived on the 30th of June. It was not till this day the first intelligence was received from some prisoners made by the light troops, that the enemy was not far off, and marching to get near the small river of Kolima, and that they designed to wait for the Russian army and give it battle. The bridges were instantly ordered to be got ready. Three were finished by the 3d of July, one of pontoons, the other of casks.

July 4, The army began to defile over those bridges, and by the 7th, the equipages and baggage were all got over. The army remained three days encamped on the other side. There it was that three divisions were made of it, each of which formed a hollow square; and, in marching, had its respective equipages in the middle. In this form too, they encamped whenever the situation did

did not allow the benefit of a river, or of their 1738.
taking the strongest posts.

July 10, The army got under march, and to- Engage-
wards noon crossed the river of Lodima, near its men. at
confluence with the Bogh, on several bridges Lo. ima
thrown over it. It then encamped between the river.
two rivers, having its left to the Lodima, and its
right extending to the Bogh, so that it had also
this river on its rear. Towards five in the after-
noon, while the army was employed in forming its
camp, the chief of the Cossacks of the Don gave
advice, that the enemy, to the number of several
thousands, were shewing themselves on the other
side of the Lodima, which the Russians had just
crossed; and as a great part of the equipages of
the army, as well as the artillery and prisoners,
could not arrive at the camp on the account of the
defiles that were to be passed, general Romanzow
and lieutenant-general Gustavus Biron took with
them some regiments, and returned to the other side.
The enemies attempted nothing all that day; the
army very quietly formed its camp, and the artil-
lery, the provisions, and the rest of the equipages,
had time to get into it during the night.

July 11, Very early in the morning, the Cossacks
brought word that a detachment of the enemies
was in sight, at some distance: no great attention
was at first paid to this, but when, towards seven
o'clock, the whole neighbouring plain, for a league
and a half round, was seen covered with Turks,
the marshal began to think the affair might become
serious. The foragers and their escorts were called
in, and the whole army had orders to get under
arms. At eight, the advanced guards of the right
wing were attacked. The lieutenant-general Se-
graïsky, with a part of the piquets of the army,
came so effectually to their relief, that the enemy
was repulsed on that side. The Turks had, at
the same time, attacked the camp of the Cossacks
of Ukraïn, in the hopes, that as these are the
worst

1738.

worst troops the Russians have, to take it without much resistance; but, on some piquets under the orders of major-general Philosophow advancing, they retreated. The greatest efforts of the enemies were opposite to the center. Brigadier Schipow, who was in turn for the day, seeing that the advanced guards of the right wing were attacked, assembled those of the center into one body; and as he had rather over-advanced, he was presently surrounded and attacked by the enemy on all sides. He defended himself with all imaginable valor, but must have been at length overpowered, if he had not been quickly succoured. The marshal marched himself in person to his relief, at the head of a detachment of cuirassiers; he was sustained by the lieutenant-generals Lowendahl and Gustavus Biron, who put themselves each at the head of some battalions. The enemies were at length repulsed on that side. They returned, however, several times to their attacks, without being able to gain the least advantage. The artillery did wonders, the enemy having more killed by the fire of it than by that of the small arms. The Turks kept the field a little while longer, in presence of the Russians; but Marshal Munich having advanced with part of his army, so formed, that the flanks were kept by the infantry; the dragoons, of whom the greatest part had dismounted, being among the foot along the lines, and the hussars and Cossacks on the wings, they retreated entirely, not being able to stand the fire of the artillery. The loss on both sides was not great; the Russians had a colonel wounded, and of the Turks there were about two hundred left dead on the spot.

While the main strength of the Turks had been employed in harrassing the army, they had sent a large detachment against a convoy that was coming from the Ukrain, and had got, without any obstacle, to within four leagues of the army.

Hap-

Happily there are nothing but plains in that country, so that the commanding officer could descry the enemy from a great distance. He had the time then to form a retrenchment of the carriages, where he defended himself, till the marshal, on advice of his danger, sent some regiments to his assistance, who disengaged him, and the convoy got safe into camp, without having lost a single carriage. Several foreign officers, some merely to make the campaign in quality of volunteers, others to take on the service, were come to join the army. Earl Crawford, and other English or Scotch, as also the count of Hemburgh, knight of the Teutonic order, and lieutenant-colonel in the service of Hesse, were among the volunteers.

After this action, the army continued its march for some days quietly enough, the Turks not coming near it but in small parties. News, however, came, that they were marching with their whole force towards the river of Savran, on the frontiers of Poland. Count Munich was determined to follow them. He arrived at the river-side on the 17th of July, and the bridges were instantly got in readiness for passing.

July 18, The Zaporavian Cossacks, who had been sent on this scout, returned with advice that the enemies were not at above one or two leagues distance, and in full march to attack the Russians.

July 19, The vanguard of the army, consisting of seven regiments of hussars, and some thousands of Cossacks, all under the orders of lieutenant Charles Biron, crossed the Savran. At one in the afternoon, the enemies made their dispositions for advancing to attack the army. They began with the Zaporavian Cossacks, who had posted themselves on a rising ground, at the right wing, and had retrenched their camp, under cover of the baggage-waggons. The Turks charged them several times on horse and on foot, with a great deal of vigor; but, finding more resistance than they

Engage-
ment at
the river
Savran.

1738. they had expected, they were extremely disheartened; and some succours that the marshal sent, made them retreat into a neighbouring wood. In the mean while, the marshal drew his army out of the camp, leaving under the command of general Romanzow, no more men in it than would just serve to guard the baggage. He formed of it but one single line, the right of which was on the Zaporavian camp, and the left on a deep ravin, and extremely steep, that was before the camp. These measures did not disconcert the enemies; they made several attacks, sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left. They even took a compass, and came to attack the camp, but were every where repulsed. Towards four, the enemy had given away on every side; the Cossacks were even on the pursuit, insomuch that it was imagined the Turks were going to quit the field of battle. But this was a mistake. The Turks formed afresh in front of a wood, and returned to attack the Russians with more fury than before, and were again repulsed, and at length forced to fly. They left above a thousand dead on the spot. Lieutenant-general Lowendahl, who had placed the artillery on a rising ground, at the right wing, from which, he fired on the flank of the enemies, contributed greatly to the victory.

This action had so much discouraged the Turks, that not only the army was not molested by them for several days, in its marches, but heard nothing of them till the first of August, when intelligence came through a Walachian deserter, that a considerable body, composed of Turks and Tartars, and commanded by the Sultan of Bielogorod, and four Bashaws, was arrived four leagues off from the army, and that the enemy designed to attack them the next morning. On this advice, dispositions were made for the battle, and the army, which was then engaged in certain defiles, marched the whole night to get out of them. The Cossacks of the Don, who had been detached to observe the motions

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tions of the enemy, returned early in the morning of the 8th of August, bringing with them eight prisoners, whom they had taken from a party of the enemy, which they had fallen in with and put to flight.

The prisoners said, that the seraskier of Bender, having repassed the Dniester with his army, had ordered the Sultan of Bielogorod to go and encounter the Russians with his Tartars, which he had refused to do, unless he had with him some Turkish troops. The seraskier Bashaw had then ordered him to be joined by eight thousand men, under Vely Bashaw, one of their best officers, who had attacked the Russians in the actions of the 9th and 11th of July. This Vely Bashaw was, the ensuing year, seraskier of Bender, and commanded the Ottoman troops against the Russians.

The army continued its march towards the Dniester, which was not above two leagues off, having the river of Molotschitzche on the right, and that of Bielotschitzche on the left. The enemies soon after coming into sight, the marshal put himself at the head of a detachment of horseguards and cuirassiers, to go and reconnoitre them. He saw them in order of battle behind a hill, at half a league distance from the army: Upon this, he ordered the quarter-master, general Fermer, who led the vanguard with seven regiments of foot, one regiment of hussars, and two thousand Cossacks, to throw his troops into a hollow square, and march to the hill to examine the posture of the enemy. At the same time, he sent word to lieutenant-general Charles Biron to follow the vanguard with his whole division; three regiments of foot, and some companies of grenadiers on horseback, were to march before, under the orders of the Prince of Brunswick, who, with this corps, went and posted himself over against the left wing of the enemy; he was joined by lieutenant-general Lowendahl, who came there to place the train of field-pieces. Soon after, the enemies advanced,

1738. vanced, and fell on the detachment of the Prince of Brunswick, but were smartly repulsed, and such a confusion got among them, from the apprehension that the Russians were marching against them, that they betook themselves to flight; the light troops were sent in pursuit of them, and brought word that they were retreated; some towards the Dniester, and the others along the Molotschitzche. Some days after this action, the army had made two marches successively, through a desert, in which there was not a drop of water to be had; if the enemies had attacked it in this melancholy situation, they might have done it a great deal of mischief.

Another
action.

Aug. 6, The army, at break of day, resumed its march, having still the two small rivers, that of Molotschitzche to the right, and that of Bielotchitzche to the left. They had not proceeded far, before they saw the camp of the Sultan of Bielogorod, who, with all the Tartars, and some thousands of Turks, were on an eminence on the other side of the river, Molotschitzche, at its confluence with the Dniester. As soon as the enemies perceived the march of the army, they passed the little river, and posted themselves on a rising ground, at the left of the Russians. This motion made the marshal judge that they would come on to attack him. Upon this, the vanguard halted, to give time for the divisions, and for the rearguard, that had gotten at too great a distance during the march, to come up, and for the taking the necessary measures for covering effectually the baggage and ammunition. The enemy made a great many of his troops defile to attack the rearguard, which was done towards ten in the morning. At the same time, another body of troops came to attack the vanguard, but these were instantly repulsed by the Cossacks and Calmucks. The attack of the rear-guard lasted longer, and was sharper than that of the van. Munich repaired thither in person. The Cossacks of the

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the Don were exposed to the first brunt of the enemies, who fell upon them with great impetuosity, and made them at first give way; but presently recovering from their disorder, they returned to the onset, and attacking with their pikes, the Tartars obliged them to retreat in their turn, though superior to them in number. Major-General Philosophow, who brought up the rearguard, with four regiments of foot, having been obliged to remain a little behind to cover the rest of the baggage, which had been stopped by a piece of bad way, had not been able to march so close to the main body as usual. The enemies attacked him with a great deal of briskness, and would have gained an advantage over him if he had not been quickly succoured. But general Romanzow hastening up to him with some companies of grenadiers on horseback, and three regiments of foot, obliged the Turks to retreat.

The better to protect the baggage, several battalions were posted on the flanks, at competent intervals, from the rear to the van of the army, which was allowed to take rest until every thing was ready for its reception in the camp, which it was to occupy.

The enemies tried to set fire to the grass, but as it had rained plentifully for some preceding days, their endeavours were ineffectual.

Towards five o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy attempted a fresh attack on the Cossacks of the Don and the Calmucks, but having been again repulsed, they retreated along the Dniester.

The army then entered its camp, the right wing being within cannon-shot of the Dniester, and the rear to the river Bielotschitzche. The loss the Russians sustained by this action might be about two hundred in all. A colonel of the Cossacks of the Don was in the number of the slain.

The army arrives at the Dniester.

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In

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In this camp the Russians were situated over against that of their enemies, who were in sight of them on the other side of the river, well retrenched, and with good batteries. The Janissaries, from time to time, crossed the river in small boats, to come and skirmish with the advanced guards.

August 7, The whole day passed in skirmishes, and in reconnoitring the sides of the river, to see if a proper place could be found for passing it; but the banks which are of rock, were so steep, that it would have been rashness to undertake it. The enemies were sixty thousand strong; the main of whom were on the other side of the river, where they had sixty cannon and fifty mortars in battery, besides which, the Sultan of Bielogorod, who had not passed the Dniester, had encamped but two leagues off from the left of the Russians, and harassed perpetually their advanced guards; so that the marshal contented himself with erecting on the river side batteries of cannon and mortars, and on the night between the 8th and 9th, began a cannonade and bombardment of the enemy's camp, but to no effect; and as the forages were beginning to fall short in the Russian camp, it was resolved to remove it.

The army
quits the
Dniester.

August 9, At break of day, the army got under march, and had scarce proceeded a cannon-shot length from its last camp, when the Turks, crossing the river in great numbers, joined the Tartars, and afterwards kept along-side of the Russians during their whole march, and harassed them without intermission.

The enemies had not discontinued the whole day passing the river, so that before evening the half of their army was got over.

August 10, The army went under arms to cover the baggage, as it crossed the bridges thrown over the Molotschitzche: the enemies advanced in order
of.

of battle, and attacked the Russians in several places and at several times, but were constantly repulsed, and yet they had never shewn themselves so determinate as on this occasion.

The country hereabouts is intersected with a number of ravins, and is full of rocks and great stones, which gave great advantage to the Janissaries, who, slipping behind those stones, within a small musket-shot of the Russian troops, kept an extreme sharp firing upon them. But, at length, the marshal commanded several companies of grenadiers to advance against them. These charged them to such good purpose, that they were soon dislodged from their lurking places, and obliged to fly.

The regiment of Stoianoff hussars, and the Cossacks, with some companies of dragoons, pursued the runaways as far as the ground would permit. The loss of the Russians amounted to three hundred men; but there was not one officer either killed or wounded. The enemies lost above a thousand men, whom they left on the field of battle.

Marshal Munich remained some time longer about the banks of the Dniester, making as if he intended to cross it, but he always found the Turkish army opposite to him; at length, he drew near to the river Bogh, and having advice that the enemy's army was separated, and that even the detachment which had kept along-side of the Russian army, continually harassing it in its marches, was retreated, he crossed the river on the 1st of September.

But already, and before that the marshal crossed the Bogh, the enemies had not shewn themselves for several days but at a great distance, and in small parties. This had lulled the camp into so great a security, that the Sultan of Bielogorod did

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not fail to take advantage of it. In the night time, he drew near the Russians with a considerable body, and posted himself in ambush, in a deep ravin. The next day, the lieutenant-general Sagraiskey, who commanded one of the divisions of the army, ordered a forage for his division, under the escort of a colonel and major, and eight hundred men, foot and dragoons. But as there had prevailed a perfect security, the escort was only for form. The foragers, with their carriages, leaving their convoy behind, went on two leagues distant from the camp, and straggled all over the country. The Tartars fell all on a sudden upon them, massacred four or five hundred soldiers or camp-servants, took at least as many prisoners, and carried off above two thousand oxen and horses, without the covering party's being able to assist them.

This affair cost the colonel dear, who commanded the covering party. His name was Tutschef. The marshal having ordered a council of war; he was tried, condemned, and shot. The lieutenant-general, who had sent out the foraging-party against the orders of the marshal, under too small an escort, and without having himself given instructions to the colonel, was degraded, and reduced to a private dragoon; as also the brigadier of the day, the Prince Walache, of the house of Cantacuzenus, for not having been present at the place of arms when the detachment was assembled, and likewise for not having given the colonel instructions. The major too of the escort was made a private soldier; but as he had not the command, it was only for some months, whereas the lieutenant-general and the brigadier were obliged to make the whole following campaign in the capacity of single dragoons, and had not their pardon till the peace.

Reflections
on the cam-
paign of
1738.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate affair of the foragers, the loss which the enemies had occasioned to the Russians was not any thing considerable.

This

1738.

This campaign, however, did not cost them less in men than the preceding one, for there was a prodigious number of sick in the army, of whom a great part died; and even those who got over it were so weakened and disabled, that they were in no condition to do any the least service, nor were thoroughly restored till after they had been some months in their winter quarters. Never had the Russian army lost so many horses and oxen: this went so far, that though they had taken with them some hundreds of supernumeraries of those creatures, for a change in the service of the artillery, they had not, towards the end of the campaign, enough of them for the draught; for want of which, they were obliged to bury in the deserts a great part of their bomb-shells and cannon-balls. A great quantity of them was also left with the carriages in Poland, which the train of artillery, and a part of the army, had crossed. The forages in the *steps*, beginning to fall intolerably short, from the Tartars having set fire to the grass, the army was forced to march, and encamp several days successively, without having any fodder for cattle of any kind. This obliged Munich to divide his army into several columns, keeping the rear one with himself. By this means he greatly relieved the forages.

Towards the end of September, the whole army re-entered the Ukrain, and there went into winter-quarters. The marshal took up his at Kiow.

In the way to the Dniester, the Russian army had taken the liberty of passing over the Polish territories, upon which the crown-general, count Potolky, sent to make complaint to count Munich; but as the enemies had also crossed their dominions to come against him, he returned for answer, That he knew perfectly well the regard due to a neutral country, and that he should not have set his foot in it, if the enemy had not shewn him the way. The crown-general not satisfied with this, made his complaints

Com-
plaints of
the Pole,

1738.

complaints to the court of Petersburg, which gave him an answer to much the same purpose. But when, returning from the Dniester, a party of the army marched by the way of Poland, the remonstrances against this grievance were more urgently made. The king of Poland himself, though he was on the terms of a good understanding with the Empress of Russia, was obliged to order representations to be made by his minister, to which it was answered, that the enemy having marched that way, there was no just cause of complaint for the Russian army's having done the same; that, however, if any disorders had been committed, the damage should be made good to the last cupeck.

Com-
plaints of
the court
of Vienna
against
marshal
Munich.

The court of Vienna made also great complaints against the marshal, as not having executed the plan concerted before the opening of the campaign. According to which, he was to pass the Dniester, and take the town of Bender, or that of Chockzim; but he had met with so many difficulties, that it was impossible for him to succeed in that project.

Munich easily justified himself to his court, making it palpably appear, that he could not undertake the passage of the Dniester, nor the siege of either of those places, without totally ruining the army under his command; considering that, besides his being in such case, obliged to enter a country, where the forages had been entirely consumed by the enemy, the plague was, at that time, actually rife in Moldavia and Walachia. All these reasons had no weight at Vienna, where it was said that count Munich had been always in a disposition to thwart that court; that he had hindered the Empress from sending thirty thousand foot to join the army of the Emperor in Hungary; that if they had had those forces, they could have undertaken great things against the infidels; but that the marshal was only actuated by passion, and impelled by ambition; that, satisfied with being at the head of a great army,

1738.

my, he had done nothing with it, because he was dissatisfied with the court of Vienna; that notwithstanding all his allegations, he might have undertaken more if he had pleased. In short, the Emperor urged the point so strongly, that a positive order was sent from Petersburg to Munich, to measure back his steps, and set about taking one of those two prementioned places. This order he did not receive till he had already passed over the river of Bogh, and divided his army for its return to the Ukrain. Upon this, he held a council of war, in which the generals unanimously agreed with him in opinion, and demonstrated the impossibility of executing this order, even was the whole army to be sacrificed in the attempt. The Empress accepted their excuse, and permitted the return of the troops.

This was the second time that the court of Vienna had persuaded that of Petersburg to send orders to Munich, for him to renew the operations of the campaign; for the same thing had already happened the year before, when, after the reduction of Ockzakow, it was urged with all imaginable vehemence, that the Russians should go on to the taking of Bender.

The conclusion of all these complaints was, that repeated entreaties were made to the Empress to send the thirty thousand foot into Hungary for the year 1739, which had been so earnestly solicited for the preceding campaign. The court of Petersburg promised it; but Munich being, in the winter, arrived at court, found means to persuade the duke of Courland and the Empress so effectually, that it would be against the interest of Russia to send its best regiments to Hungary, that the Emperor did not this year obtain more than he had done the preceding one.

While Munich was employed on the side of the Dniester, marshal Lacy was resuming the march to Crimea, with a second army, which was not at most

Camp again
in the Cri-
mea under
marshal
Lacy.

1738. most above from thirty to thirty-five thousand strong, including the Cossacks.

July 6, He was, with his army, in sight of Precop. The Khawn, with forty thousand of his troops, was behind the lines, where he hoped to render the entrance into the Crimea more difficult than it had been the preceding years. He had great confidence in the new lines, which, the year before, the Tartars had made before the Palus Mæotis. But Lacy disconcerted his project, and entered Crimea without the loss of a single man. For, in summer, the heats dry up a part of the sea of Azoph, and a west-wind keeps back the flood so, that one may get into the Crimea almost dryshod. As good luck would have it, this wind began to blow, and the marshal lost not a moment for the taking the benefit of it. He instantly drew up his army along the shore, in one single line, and happily crossed the sea before the return of the flood. Some, indeed, of the carriages of the rear-guard, that could not come up quick enough, were lost, by the wind having ceased to blow, and the sea returning just after the army had passed. They seized on a small fort, called the Czivas-Coula.

July 8, The marshal marched towards Precop, and sat down before it. The siege did not last but till the 10th. The continual fire kept up against the place, and the quantity of shells thrown into it, to great effect, obliged the Turkish commandant to capitulate. Lacy would not hear of his surrender, but as prisoner of war; which, after several parleys, he accepted. The garrison, consisting of two thousand Janisaries, under a Bashaw of two tails, came out of the place, and laid down their arms. Major-general Brigni the younger, with two regiments of foot, entered the place, and took the command of it. He found there to the number of a hundred pieces of cannon, most of them brass, but no more than a small quantity of bread.

bread. After this expedition, Lacy penetrated farther into Crimea, which he found in a wretched condition, and almost a desert.

July 20, There was a very smart action between the Tartars and a part of Lacy's army. A body of near twenty thousand men came on with such fury to attack the Cossacks of the Ukrain, who constituted the rear-guard, that they routed them, and threw into confusion the Azoph-regiment of dragoons that had endeavoured to sustain them. Just at that juncture, lieutenant-general Spiegel came up with four regiments of dragoons, and the Cossacks of the Don, to stop the runaways; and scarce had they had time to recover themselves, before the enemies attacked them afresh, with a great deal of impetuosity. The combat was long and sharp; but the marshal having caused some regiments of foot, who had already entered the camp, to advance, the Tartars were obliged to retreat, having left above a thousand of their slain on the field of battle. On the side of the Russians, there were not above six or seven hundred men killed, including the Cossacks. General Spiegel was among the wounded, having received a cut of a sabre in the face.

Marshal Lacy had it in his instructions to take Caffa, the strongest place of the Crimea, and a seaport, in which the Turks often keep their fleet; but he found the country every where so ruined, that it was with great difficulty the army could get subsistence. Besides which, the vice-admiral Bredal, who was to bring him, in his fleet, provisions from Azoph, had met with a terrible storm, that disabled the greatest part of his vessels, and dispersed the rest; so that the marshal, after having made some marches onward, thought it best to bring back his army to near Precop, of which he ordered the fortifications to be blown up, and a great part of the lines to be levelled.

In

1738.

In his camp here he remained till towards the end of August, when he resumed his march back to the Ukrain, where his troops went into winter-quarters, in the month of October.

State of
the garri-
son at
Ockza-
kow.

As to Ockzakow, the advices from that place, during the whole year 1738, were extremely disagreeable. Care had, indeed, been taken, to send recruits for completing the regiments in garrison at that place and in Kinburn; but hardly were they arrived there, before they died like rotten sheep: and, to increase the misfortune, the plague got into both places, and made a terrible havock, insomuch that general Stofeln had not, for some days, men enough to do the duty of the day, or the guard. And when, in the month of September, of the year 1739, he received orders to raze and abandon the two towns; scarce did he bring one-third of his men back to the Ukrain. The town of Ockzakow has cost Russia near twenty thousand men.

The plague, which made great ravages in Moldavia and Walachia, communicated itself also to the Ukrain, where the precautionary arrangements taken by Munich prevented this dreadful scourge from extending over the whole province, but could not, however, hinder several towns and villages from being depopulated by it.

Executi-
of the
false Cza-
rewitz.

In the month of November, there was a terrible execution in the Ukrain. The son of a peasant in that country had given himself out for the Czarew-itz, son of Peter I. deceased, in the year 1718. He had come into a village on the frontiers, where he had declared himself as such to three soldiers, who were on guard near the pyramidal beacons fixed along the limits. These had done homage to him, as also the inhabitants of the village. The priest of it had made the bells to ring, and said a mass in his favor. At length, the people of the village assem-
bled,

bled, and perhaps the matter would have gone farther, if it had not been for a *Sotnick*, or Cossack captain, who, hearing of it, acquainted general Romanzow, then in the neighbourhood. This pretended Prince and his adherents, who were not very numerous, were easily seized, and conveyed to Petersburg, where they had their trial in the secret chancery; after which they were sent back to the Ukrain. There the major-general Schipow had an order to see them executed. The self-made Prince was impaled; the priest and the three soldiers were put to different kinds of deaths. The Empress forgave the peasants, but the village was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants were removed to other places.

Marshal Munich being returned from the court at the end of the month of March, issued orders for the regiments to hold themselves in readiness for marching at twenty-four hours warning.

1738.

Beginning
of the
campaign
of 1739,
under
marshal
Munich.

The general rendezvous of the army was at Kiow, in consequence of which, a great part of the troops had a much longer way to get to it than the preceding years, that they had assembled in the center of their winter-quarters. The regiments that were near the rivers Don and Donetz, and towards the lines of Ukrain, had more than two hundred leagues to march before they could arrive at Kiow. The 26th of April was the day prefixed for the general assembly of the army, but for the reasons prealleged, the more distant troops could not get to be there at the time.

The Dnieper had swelled, and overflowed the country for two leagues round; notwithstanding which obstacle, the bridge of boats was set about, and finished by the 8th of May.

The regiments that had been nearest passed first, and the others as fast as they arrived; but with all
the

1739. the diligence possible, the troops, with the artillery and ammunition magazines, could not be all collected before the 4th of June, by which time the whole army was got on the other side of the river.

The army of count Munich consisted this year of forty-nine battalions of infantry, including three battalions of foot-guards; three squadrons of horse-guards, a hundred squadrons of dragoons, six squadrons of hussars, six squadrons of Walachians, and four squadrons of Georgians, composed the cavalry; besides which, there were thirteen thousand Cossacks of all kinds. The artillery consisted of sixty-two pieces of battering cannon, eleven mortars, sixteen howitzers, a hundred and seventy-six field-pieces. There were three thousand men appointed to serve the ordnance; in short the army might amount to from sixty to sixty-five thousand men.

The generals that served under marshal Munich were, the general Romanzow; the lieutenant-generals, Charles Biron, Lowendal, and Gustavus Biron; the major-generals, the Prince of Holstein, Chrouzchow, Philosophow, Prince Repnin, Bachmetew, Keyserling, Fermor, Schipow, Stockman, and Apraxin.

The court was resolved, notwithstanding the continual complaints of the Poles, to make their army take its march this year across their country, as this greatly shortened the way that must else have been taken to arrive at the Dniester, and, besides, afforded their troops several conveniencies, which they had been obliged to do without in the preceding campaigns. And, indeed, it must be owned, that the army never suffered less, nor had fewer sick, than in this year.

June 7, The army entered Poland near to Wasilkow, a small fortress on the frontier. The crown-general

1739.

crown-general had ordered the nobility to mount on horseback; and this noble militia had encamped in several places, to prevent as much as possible the disorder of the light-troops: but, notwithstanding all the care the Poles took to keep along-side of the Russians in their marches, they could not hinder a great many irregularities being committed.

The Russian army, for the more convenience, marched in several columns, and, on the 10th of July, arrived at the river Bogh, which it passed in three places; the first division at Constantinow, the second at Latizchew, and the third at Mentzibosh. These three places are situate within a space of five miles.

Advice came, that the Turks, sixty thousand strong, had passed the Dniester, and advanced into Poland, to dispute with the Russians the passage of the Bogh; but that, finding they had got the start of them, they e'en marched back again, after having ravaged several villages.

To put the enemies on a wrong scent, and engage them either to fruitless marches, or to keep a great part of their army near Bender, a numerous detachment of Cossacks was sent on the side of Soroka, with orders to give out by the way, that a part of the army would follow them in a few days; this false report induced the seraskier Bashaw to stop, with the main of his army, near fifteen days at Bender.

This party of Cossacks had the good luck to swim their horses over the Dniester, without being perceived by the enemy's troops; and having penetrated fifteen leagues into the country, had burnt a great number of villages, and the two towns of Soroka and Mohilow. In their return to the camp, they brought with them eighteen prisoners, and above four hundred horses, but of which the greatest

1739. greatest part had been taken on the frontiers of Poland.

The army continued marching towards the Dniester till the 27th of July, having gone round the mountains of Nedoborſchetz, and then turned down along the river of Sbroutſch, on the ſide of Chockzim, as if their deſign had been to force the paſſage of the Dniester, ſomewhere above that town.

A great body of the enemy's army had advanced towards Sbroutſch, of which the ſides are very ſteep, to diſpute the paſſage. But as the idea of the maſhal was not to paſs the Sbroutſch, and that he wanted to come at the Dniester, even before the enemy could ſuſpect his deſign, he put himſelf, on the 28th of July, at the head of a body of twenty thouſand of his choice troops, taking with him no artillery but a train of field-pieces, without any baggage, the ſoldiers having orders to carry ſix days' bread with them; the battering-pieces and the baggage remained in the camp with general Romanzow.

The M.
Munich
paſſes the
Dniester.

This body of troops marched that day and the next, the 29th, near twenty French leagues, and, towards the evening, arrived at the banks of the Dniester, at Sinkowza, a ſmall Poliſh village. They immediately ſet to work at the bridges; and as there was not a ſingle enemy to make any reſiſtance, they were finiſhed by the 30th, at ſeven in the morning.

The whole of the infantry then, with the maſhal, and the train of field-pieces, had paſſed over to the other ſide before the evening. The dragoons and Coſſacks had got over the preceding day, by means of a ford they had diſcovered. The enemies, who were in wait for the Ruſſians at the paſſage of the river Sbroutſch, knew nothing of this march, nor, till the firſt of Auguſt, of any part of the

the army's having passed the Dniester. They immediately retreated to Chockzim, and repassed the Dniester under that town. 1739.

Sinkowtza is not above six or seven leagues distant from Chockzim, but the way between those places is embarrassed by impracticable mountains, which extend from the Dniester to the river Pruth; so that it would take the enemies three days march, before they could come to the Russians, there being no passing for an army but through the famous defiles of Precop.

The Russians took their advantage of this, and sent parties on all sides, who penetrated into the country beyond the Pruth, and brought away with them near a hundred prisoners, Turks and Walachians, whom they had chanced to meet, and a few colors they had taken away from some little parties of the enemy, of whom they had killed some, and dispersed the rest. The booty they made of horses and oxen was prodigious.

Since the passage of the Dniester, there were continual rains, which so swelled that river, that the freshes broke away the bridges, and carried them down with the force of the stream almost as low as Chockzim; however, they came up with them at last, and, with a great deal of pains, brought them up again to the heads of the bridges, which had been fixed on each side of the river.

The same rains retarded the march of the army that was following, with the heavy artillery, the baggages, and the ammunition-stores, so that they could not arrive till the 7th of August, to the Dniester; the bridges over which, besides, could not be so soon got in order again: thus, for some days, there was no communication between the two bodies, which obliged count Munich to make some redoubts at the head of his camp.

August

1799.
Action
near the
Dnieſter.

August 3, The Sultan Iſlam Gherei, at the head of twelve thouſand Tartars, and Ilia Kaltschack Baſhaw, governor of Chockzim, with ſix thouſand *Serdengestis*, or Janiſaries, on horſeback, who are called the Janiſaries of *no-quarter*, preſented themſelves in ſight of the camp, and attacked the foragers of the regiment of Tobolskow-dragoons, commanded by the colonel Roden; but as that colonel, with his whole regiment, ſerved them for eſcort, he threw himſelf into a ſquare, and defended himſelf valiantly for more than an hour, till the piquets of the army came to his relief. The action was ſharp; nor were the enemies repulſed till they had ſix hundred of them killed upon the ſpot. A Tartar gentleman, called Aly Mirza, was taken priſoner. By his talk, he appeared to be a man of ſenſe. As he was wounded in the leg, the ſurgeons told him it was impoſſible to make a cure without amputation. He bore the operation with perfect firmneſs, and all imaginable tranquillity. The maſhal cauſed great care to be taken of him; notwithſtanding which, he died a little while after.

The Ruſſians had, in this action, forty-five men killed, and a hundred and fifteen wounded. Among the firſt was a Saxon colonel, called Kieſling, whom the King of Poland had ſent to the Ruſſian army to make a campaign in it.

August 10, There was heard the firing of the cannon of Chockzim for the arrival of the ſeraskier Vely Baſhaw, who had at length got there from Bender with the Turkiſh army, which he commanded in chief.

August 11, The Tartars made a freſh attempt. Fifteen hundred of their beſt horſe ſtole, as ſilently as they could, an approach to the camp; but a party of the Coſſacks of the Don, and a detachment of Ruſſians, who were lurking in a bottom, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they not only repulſed them

them with the utmost vigor, pursuing them as far as the Pruth, in which several Tartars were drowned, but even killed the greatest part of them, and took sixteen prisoners.

1739.

It was the 11th of August before the rest of the artillery and stores passed the Dniester, and then the bridges were broke up.

Since the time of the first body of Russians crossing the river, there was hardly a day passed without some Walachian and Moldavian officers coming with troops to the camp, to make their submission, and engage in the service of the Empress of Russia.

The marshal had, with the approbation of the court, formed a regiment of Walachians before the opening of the campaign. A prince of * Cantemir, who had quitted Moldavia at the end of the year 1736, had the command of it, and all the Moldavians who came in, were placed in that regiment.

This Prince Cantemir, as he was going to Russia, had passed by the way of Broda, the residence of count Potofsky, the crown-general of Poland, who was his relation, to whom he unbosomed himself upon his intention of going to Kiow. The count Potofsky, who was by no means in the interests of Russia, had him seized and thrown into a dungeon, writing at the same time to Constantinople, to acquaint the Turks of Cantemir's being in his power, and that he would deliver him into their hands. The Prince, sensible of the danger that threatened him, (for if he had been delivered to the Turks, he would have been infallibly dead alive,) found means to procure a man to carry a letter from him to the

Anecdote concerning the Prince Cantemir.

P

commandant

* This was a near relation of the Prince Cantemir, who had been hospodar of Moldavia, and who followed Peter I. into Russia, when he made that unfortunate campaign of 1711 in Moldavia.

1739. commandant of Kiow, containing the particulars of what had befallen to him. General Keith, who happened to be in that place, sent, without a moment's delay, an officer to the crown-general, to demand the Prince of him. He denied his having him; but, on the repeated demands and threats of the court of Petersburgh, he at length set him at liberty, and had him escorted to the frontiers of the Ukrain.

Prince Cantemir, not having it in his power to be revenged of the crown-general in person, vented his rage upon his subjects; for, having been detached with his regiment to penetrate farther into Moldavia, instead of so doing, he repassed the Dniester, and, entering into Poland, ravaged the lands of the crown-general, and put every thing to fire and sword, without sparing a soul; in short, he committed the most horrid cruelties; and could he have got hold of count Potosky, there is no doubt but that he would have made him undergo the same punishment as that to which he had meant to expose him.

This made a great noise. The crown-general complained, and Cantemir denied the fact, notwithstanding all the flagrant circumstances and proofs of it; but, as there are a number of Walachians that serve in the Turkish army, it was to them that all the mischief was imputed.

This did not, however, hinder the Empress from being obliged, after the peace, to pay considerable sums to the Poles, for the excesses committed by her troops in Poland.

August 16, The army was under march; and, after advancing four French leagues, encamped, with the right-wing to the Pruth, and the left to the small river of Waletzka.

August 17, The army passed this river, and entered among the mountains into the famous defiles of
of

of Precop, or streights of Tschernantza, where the King of Poland, John Sobieski, had fought several battles with the Tartars and inhabitants of the country. A Walachian deserter from the Turks brought word that they had abandoned the most important pass of the whole streights, where, without doubt, ten thousand men might stop an army of a hundred thousand. The marshal immediately sent a strong detachment to seize this post.

1739.
The army enters the defiles of Precop, or of Tschernantza.

August 18, The army quitted the summits, and thence got into a plain, covered by a not very thick wood, where it encamped, with the right to the Pruth, and the left joining to the mountains. The whole army, in short, passed the defiles easy enough, except the detachment sufficient for covering the artillery, baggage, and stores, which could not make their way through them, without a great deal of labor and fatigue, insomuch that the last were not got clear through till the 26th.

There is no being surprised enough at the fault which the Turks committed of abandoning those passes, where they might have destroyed the whole Russian army, almost without fighting. Nor was the good fortune of Munich less astonishing, to whom every enterprise, even the most difficult ones, and such as, humanly speaking, he ought to have miscarried in, succeeded to his wish.

The enemies did not, for the whole day, shew themselves but in small parties, who exchanged pistol-shot with the Cossacks. Towards the evening they retreated. It was perceived that they had concealed a large body of men in the vallies, with a view to draw our light troops into an ambuscade; but it did not succeed.

August 19, The Kaltzchack Bashaw and the Sultan of Bielogorod, at the head of about twenty

P 2

thousand

1739. thousand men drew near to the camp, sending parties on the skirmish with the Cossacks; but after having lost a number of men by the artillery, they retreated into their camp, which was separated from the Russians by the little river of Houka and its defiles. In the night, the marshal made his dispositions for attacking the enemy.

August 20, Very early in the morning, the army drew out of camp, leaving behind the few baggages that had come up to them; for the main of them was still engaged in the streights of Precop.

The army defiled to the left, in the breadth of a battalion in front, and passed into the plain without any opposition. The enemies burned several villages that lay before them, and retreated, leaving the Russians at full liberty to pass the Houka, without so much as their having made any shew of resistance. Accordingly, the army took possession of the camp which the enemies had occupied the day before, and who now had a straggling one three or four leagues off the Russians.

August 21, The enemy continued to wage puny war with the light troops: but, on the 22d, they attacked the hussars and Walachians more in earnest; these were succoured in good time, so that the enemy was obliged to retreat, with considerable loss.

August 23, and 24, The army did nothing more than shift camps, being obliged to wait for the artillery and baggage. The enemies had posts all round the Russians, at five hundred paces distance; there was no safety before the front, or behind the rear; so that it was requisite to have strong escorts to go and come from the camp to the baggages. Major-general Stockman, who did not apprehend the danger to be so great as was said, and wanting to acquaint the Marshal of something material

material relative to the march of the baggages, he even set out, accompanied only by two Zaporavian Cossacks. Scarce had he entered a small wood, which he must necessarily pass, when he saw himself surrounded by the enemy. He made resistance at first, but having been wounded, was forced to surrender. He was carried to Chockzim, whence the Russians delivered him when they took that place. Great was the joy in the Turkish camp when he was brought to it, being the only officer of note that they took from the Russians in the whole course of the war.

The marshal received advice, that the enemies had occupied, at three leagues distance; a very advantageous camp, on a rising ground, where they were at work on the retrenchments, and waiting for the Russians to give them battle.

August 27, The army got under march by break of day, and, passing several small rivers and defiles, drew near to the Turkish camp, to within cannon-shot. It was here that the Russians found themselves entirely surrounded by the enemy. The seraskier, Vely Bashaw, commander in chief of their army, was upon an eminence, in a retrenched camp, and defended by numerous batteries. The Kalschack Bashaw, with the Serdingestis, or *no-quarter* Janissaries, was encamped on the left, with his rear supported by forests and impracticable mountains. Jentzch Aly Bashaw, who commanded the Turkish cavalry or Spahis, was on the right, supported by the hill which extended to the river Pruth; and the Sultan Isham Ghery, of Bielogorod, with all the Tartar hordes, kept harrassing their ear.

The enemies then attacked them on all sides, without giving them a moment's breathing-time from morning to evening; and even gave them an alarm in the night; but as the Russian camp formed three squares, well provided every where with *che-*

vauk

1739.

Battle of
Stravout-
schane.

1739. *maux de frise* and artillery, they were easily repulsed : but, as there was no possibility of sending out to forage, nor other means of giving fodder to the cattle of the army, it was a point of indispensable necessity to get out of this embarrassment, cost what it would.

The generals of the Ottoman army, seeing the Russian one so finely in the toils, were now applauding themselves for their not having thrown more obstacles in their way at the pass of the streights of Precop, imagining that they would not be able to get out of this ugly position, but by surrendering themselves prisoners of war, or by capitulation.

August 28, At break of day, the whole Russian army got under arms. The marshal caused to advance, within half-cannon-shot, the three battalions of guards, three regiments of foot, two of dragoons, four hundred of the piquet men, and some light troops ; all these commanded by the lieutenant-generals Lowendal and Gustavus Biron, with thirty pieces of battering-cannon, and four mortars, opposite to the retrenched camp of the enemies, as if there had been a design to attack it in that quarter. The cannonade and bombardments were played incessantly on both sides, but without great effect, especially on the part of the Turks, which killed but one single horse of the Russians, after having fired above a hundred cannon till noon.

This motion had been made only to draw the whole attention of the enemies on that side, and to hinder them from perfecting their lines on the left, which they had but just begun. This had all the success that could be wished ; for they immediately set about erecting two more batteries on their right, and began to work at a new line.

In the mean time, the marshal, who had already, the day before, reconnoitered the enemy's camp, went to reconnoitre it again, and found that the river
of

1739.

of Schoulanetz, which ran on the left of the enemy, and which had been taken for granted to be impracticable, on account of the marshes on both sides, was far from being so, and that, by strowing those marshes with the fascines which they had ready in the carriages, they would be easily passed, as well as the river, which was not deep; so that by this means they might turn the camp of the enemies, who, not having imagined it possible to come to attack them on that side, had entirely neglected to fortify it.

At noon, the marshal ordered the army to march to the right, and recalled the guards, with the prementioned detachments, into the main of the army. Several bridges were presently thrown over the little river of Schoulanetz, the marshes were filled with fascines, and covered with thick planks, and the army passed by means of their admirably well-served artillery, without any opposition from the enemy.

At two in the afternoon, the Russians had advanced to the foot of the hill, which the Turkish camp covered. Then it was that the Turkish cavalry attacked them on all sides, but was repulsed without being able to get any the least advantage. The Russians were still gaining ground, and approaching nearer and nearer to the enemy's camp. At five o'clock in the evening, the enemy returned to the attack with more fury than ever. The Janisaries, sabre in hand, advanced, and charged the guards and the infantry; but such a terrible fire was kept playing upon them, both from the cannon and small arms, that though they had advanced as far as the *chevaux de frise*, they could do nothing. After their having exerted every possible effort to break the Russian ranks, they were at length obliged to retreat, which they did in a good deal of confusion. The Turks, however, still wanted

1739. ed to make some resistance in their camp, and caused some cannon to be transported to their left wing; but the Russians kept advancing on, under favor of the violent fire of their artillery.

Little by little the Turks set fire to their camp, and betook themselves to flight with such precipitation, that when, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Russians, having conquered the ascent of the rising ground, entered the camp, they found no one in it. The light troops, who went in pursuit of the fugitives, could hardly overtake a few, whom they massacred.

The Turks had left behind, partly in the camp, partly on the road, forty-two pieces of brass cannon, and six mortars. In the camp there were found above a thousand tents, still standing; an infinite quantity of utensils, of baggage, and of ammunitions of war, and victualment.

The loss of the enemy must have been considerable; near a thousand bodies lay dead on the field. On the side of the Russians, there were but seventy men in all killed and wounded.

This action was at a small village called Stavoutschane, which was at the right of the army.

Taking of
Chock-
zim.

In order to take advantage of this victory, the marshal marched directly the next morning towards Chockzim, at the head of a body of thirty thousand men, and of the battering train. The general Romanzow was left behind, to cover the baggage and stores that were to follow in easier marches.

Never was so complete a victory obtained with so little loss. It is also to be observed, that the Russians were obliged to give this battle, with all their baggage and stores, within the squares, in the midst of their army, so that they had not their motions free, and could make them at best but slowly.

As

1739.

As fast as the first troops advanced on their way to Chockzim, they found cannon, mortars, bomb-shells, cannon-balls, barrels of powder, baggage-waggons, dispersed here and there, every mark, in short, in this general rout, of the power of a panic terror. The army advanced that day within two leagues of Chockzim.

August 30, Early in the morning, a strong detachment of light troops was sent to observe the posture of the enemy; they found that the suburbs, which were intrenched and surrounded with a wide ditch, were abandoned. Of this they acquainted the marshal, who was advancing with his army, and arrived at ten in the morning under the place, and instantly sent the governor a summons to surrender.

From some prisoners taken by surprise in the suburb, it was learnt, that Kaltschack Bashaw, governor of Chockzim, had got into the place the very evening of the battle, but could not prevail on his garrison to stand by him, which at the beginning of the campaign was ten thousand strong; almost all of them had followed Vely Bashaw in his flight with his army, so that there remained but few with the governor.

The Bashaw requested an honorable capitulation, and to be escorted to the Danube; but they would not accept of his surrender on any terms but as prisoner of war. At the same time, the marshal caused to advance, through the suburbs, as far as to the glacis, three battalions of guards, and three other battalions of foot. It was, however, after some parleys, granted, that there should be no visit of the baggage-waggons of the garrison, and that they might send away their wives to Turkey. None but the Bashaw sent his there, all the rest kept theirs, and took them with them into Russia.

At

1739.

At two in the afternoon, the Bashaw and the garrison surrendered. The commandant and aga of the Janisaries presented the keys of the town to the marshal. The guards took possession of the gate; after which the Bashaw, with a numerous retinue, waited on the marshal, who was in a house in the suburbs, and delivered up his sabre to him.

August 31, The Turkish garrison, of seven hundred and sixty-three men, evacuated the place, and laid down their arms and colors. The Russian garrison, at the same time, entered the town. Major-general Chrouschew had the command of it in chief, and under him Prince Dadian, colonel of the artillery.

Chockzim is one of the strongest places in the Turkish dominions; all the works are well faced, and partly cut into the rock; those which are on the side of Moldavia are kept in better repair than the part towards Poland, as being the side on which it cannot be attacked, since the Dniester runs under its walls. Most part of its works, as also the covered way, are undermined. There were a hundred and fifty-seven pieces of cannon it, and twenty-two mortars, all of them of brass, and mounted; the ammunition was infinite, and the magazines full victualled.

Kaltschack Bashaw said, that all the misfortunes which had befallen the Turks in this campaign were solely owing to the bad measures taken by their commander in chief, the seraskier Vely Bashaw, who had loitered too long with a great part of his army under Bender, and not followed his advice, which was, to dispute the pass of the streights of Precop. Vely Bashaw was for letting the Russians pass, in the hope of ruining them, without
coming

coming to a battle, by depriving them of the means of forage, and by continually harrassing them. 1739

This project would not have been bad, if he had had other troops under his order than Turks and Tartars, and another general opposed to him than count Munich.

The Bashaw added, that he was astonished at the vehement quickness of the Russian fire, especially of that of the artillery, which had, on all occasions, made the greatest havock of their troops.

September 1, Two bridges were thrown over the Dniester, to have a free communication with Poland.

Lieutenant-general Gustavus Biron was ordered by the marshal to take back with him to the Ukrain the three battalions of guards, and some regiments of dragoons. There were sent, at the same time, under this escort, the prisoners, being in number two thousand one hundred and twenty-one persons, of both sexes.

Lieutenant-general Biron returns into the Ukrain, with the guards and the prisoners.

After that the marshal had sent off this detachment, and had regulated every thing relative to the garrison of Chockzim, he resumed his march with the army, to enter farther into Moldavia.

Marshal Munich enters farther into Moldavia.

September 8, He arrived at the river Pruth, where there were immediately three bridges ordered, and finished by the evening. Prince Cantemir, who had been detached with the Walachians, brought advice, that he had penetrated a good way into the country, without finding any resistance, or so much as seeing the enemy.

September 9, and 10, The whole army passed the Pruth; the waters of which river happened to be so low, that the whole cavalry forded it over, otherwise the Pruth is deep and rapid. It was fifty fathom

1739. fathom broad in the place where the Russians crossed it. They built there the head of a bridge, and a fort on the river side, to which was given the name of Fort St. John. There were also redoubts raised at competent distances, the better to keep up the communication with Chockzim.

September 11, The army marched towards Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, and residence of the Hospodar. A party of the enemies shewing themselves at a distance, the Cossacks gave chase to them, but could not come up with them.

The states of Moldavia, which had assembled at Jassy, sent deputies to the marshal, with a letter, containing an act of submission. The Hospodar, Gregorius Jika, had retreated the day before towards the Danube.

September 12, The deputies were sent back with an answer, assuring the states of the protection of the Empress. The army continued its march towards Jassy, where Prince Cantemir was entered with ten thousand men, dragoons, hussars, and Walachians.

News came, that the seraskier Vely Bashaw had been obliged to hide himself for two days, in a small village near the Pruth, called Boydon, having none with him but his menial servants; and this, to escape the fury of the Janisaries, who wanted to massacre him; that except three thousand men, who had repaired to Bender, all the rest were gone over the Danube.

September 19, The marshal went to Jassy, under an escort of three hundred grenadiers on horseback, and three hundred Cossacks of the Don, to regulate the needful with the states of the country, for the supply and subsistence of the army. There he made a stipulation with them, by which they engaged

engaged for the maintenance of twenty thousand of the Russian army, to find them in quarters, victuals, and forage ; to furnish at their own expence, all the carriages necessary for the bringing provisions from the whole circuit of the frontiers of the dutchy, and to keep from two to three thousand prisoners to work at the fortifications of Jassy. After that every thing was settled, the marshal surveyed the situation, and the engineers laid down the plan of the works for the precinct of the place.

Three regiments of foot, one regiment of hussars, and the body of Walachians, were put into garrison there. The major-general Schipow and colonel Karkettle had the command of it.

Sept. 21, The marshal returned to the army, which had repassed the Pruth. The design of the marshal was, to enter, before the end of the campaign, into the country of the Tartars of Budziack, and even to take Bender, which was very possible, considering the consternation in which the Turks were after their defeat. He flattered himself, that if the war should last one year longer, he would pass the Danube, and penetrate deeply into the states of the Grand Signor; but all this fine project was disconcerted by the peace.

The imperialists had signed theirs under Belgrade, in the Turkish camp. The marshal Murnich had notice of it the 24th of September, and was in a great rage with the generals of the Emperor. He wrote on this subject to Prince Lobkowitz, who commanded in Transylvania, and who had sent him the news of this peace. As this letter contains several remarks on the conduct of the imperialists, and many other particulars, and is besides, singular enough, I subjoin here the translation of the German original.

The Emperor makes peace with the Porte.

L E T-

1739.

**LETTER of Marshal MUNICH to
Prince LOBKOWITZ, Sept. 27, 1739.**

‘ I had the honor to receive your letter, with the
‘ journal which you were pleased to send therewith,
‘ and which goes as far as the first of the current
‘ month, and received it just at the time that we
‘ were employed in celebrating a thanksgiving festi-
‘ tival for the happy conquest of Moldavia, of
‘ which the states, as well spiritual as temporal, did,
‘ on the 16th September, make their submission to
‘ the Empress, my most gracious Sovereign.

‘ I join herewith the continuation of my journal,
‘ by which your Highness will see more at large,
‘ that after the taking of Chockzim, and after hav-
‘ ing forced to a total retreat the enemy, whose
‘ camp we took, with its field-artillery, consisting
‘ of forty-two cannon and six mortars, I advanced
‘ farther into Moldavia, with the army which I
‘ have the honor of commanding. Having passed
‘ the Pruth the 9th and 10th of this month, I built
‘ there a redoubt, called Fort St. John, which I
‘ provided with a good garrison and sufficient artil-
‘ lery. We have driven out the Hospodar, with
‘ the militia, and some hundreds of Turks, who
‘ were at Jassy, his place of residence, of which I
‘ have taken possession the 14th of this month.
‘ The fortifications of it I have caused to be repair-
‘ ed, and have left a strong garrison in it, with the
‘ necessary artillery. The retreat of the Hospodar
‘ was so precipitate, that he has left to us all his
‘ horse tails, his two head-standards, and the horse-
‘ tail of a Turkish Bashaw, who was with him at
‘ the time; and more than thirty other colors be-
‘ longing to the Turks and Moldavians; his kettle-
‘ drums, all his field-music; besides three cannons,
‘ twelve barrels of powder, and fifteen hundred
‘ barrels of corn, with a great quantity of rice.

‘ Am idft

1739.

‘ Amidst all this good fortune, I cannot deny
‘ that the contents of your letter and journal have
‘ extremely surpris’d, and even afflicted me. I
‘ have with great astonishment observed, that the
‘ irruption which the body of troops under your
‘ Highness was to make into the enemy’s country
‘ cannot be executed; consequently, not the least
‘ motion can be made on the side of Walachia in
‘ favor of our army, notwithstanding all the solemn
‘ promises of the Emperor, and the plan of operations
‘ agreed upon with the Empress my Sovereign.

‘ Your Highness’s letter abundantly testifies,
‘ that these circumstances, which you did not expect,
‘ do not give less pain to you than to me. On
‘ the perusal, Sir, of your journal, it is easy to remark,
‘ that every thing was in a good condition in
‘ the imperial army till the 13th of August, as well
‘ as at Belgrade, where, according to the advices I
‘ received thence, there was a garrison numerous
‘ enough to have made a longer resistance against
‘ the Turks, and even to have compelled them to
‘ raise the siege, with considerable loss, especially,
‘ if the measure had been resolved on to make a
‘ vigorous sally, sustained by the imperial army,
‘ the bravery of which had been so much boasted.
‘ Certain it is, that we had flattered ourselves here
‘ with this hope, as we had beaten the enemy,
‘ taken Chockzim, made the garrison prisoners,
‘ with the governor of it, a Bashaw of three tails,
‘ and were, besides, on the point of drawing quickly
‘ near to the Danube, news that could not but
‘ abate much of the presumption of the Turks before
‘ Belgrade.

‘ The generals of the imperial army were perfectly
‘ well apprised, that the Russian army having
‘ happily passed the Dniester, and repulsed the enemy
‘ in the action of the 22d July, designed to
‘ march strait to the enemies and to Chockzim,
‘ events

1739.

‘ events of which it was very well worth while to
 ‘ wait the issue, without being in such a hurry in
 ‘ the imperial army. But no. Instead of this, it
 ‘ appears by the conclusion of the journals you sent
 ‘ me, that advice was received from Mons. de Neu-
 ‘ perg, grand master of the ordnance, who had al-
 ‘ ready been for some time in the Turkish camp,
 ‘ that the preliminary articles were already signed
 ‘ the 1st of September, on the part of the
 ‘ Porte.

‘ And although neither in your letter, nor in the
 ‘ journal annext, is there any mention made of the
 ‘ conditions stipulated by these preliminaries; and
 ‘ that I was the more surpris’d at this omission, for
 ‘ that I could never have imagined that there would
 ‘ have been such a want of regard for the Empress
 ‘ my Sovereign, as to leave me in the dark as to
 ‘ the points which concern her Majesty, and upon
 ‘ which I was, nevertheless, to regulate the opera-
 ‘ tions of war for the rest of the campaign; yet,
 ‘ I have learnt by other means, that the conditions
 ‘ of the said preliminaries are extremely pernicious,
 ‘ and contrary to the honor and to the interests of
 ‘ both the august and imperial houses.

‘ For, FIRST, If the fort of Belgrade is to be
 ‘ razed at the expence, and even by the hands of
 ‘ the imperial army, can there be a condition more
 ‘ dishonorable to the imperial arms?

‘ SECONDLY, If, instead of preserving that
 ‘ place, and causing Orsowa to be demolished, as
 ‘ had been agreed, the first is ceded to the Turks,
 ‘ and the other suffered to remain in their hands,
 ‘ in a very good condition; does not this throw
 ‘ the gates open for their entering as often as they
 ‘ please to break the peace into the Bannat of
 ‘ Transylvania, and the other hereditary countries
 ‘ of the empire? Thence how very easy is it
 ‘ for

1739.

‘ for them to penetrate to Vienna ! Such a condition, then, cannot but be extremely prejudicial to the Emperor, and to the Empire.

‘ THIRDLY. If it be true that the kingdom of Servia, and the imperial Walachia, are ceded to the enemy, at a time when the arms of its faithful allies are every where victorious, nothing can appear more contrary to the interests of the two imperial houses ; and, certainly, a more disadvantageous peace could not have been concluded, if even the enemy had actually taken Belgrade, and beaten the imperial army.

‘ In the mean while, what is become of that sacred alliance that was to subsist between the two courts ? On the part of the Russians, forts are taken from the common enemy ; on the part of the Imperialists, forts are demolished, or given up to him. The Russians acquire principalities and provinces, the imperialists restore whole kingdoms to the enemy. The Russians drive him to the utmost ; the imperialists grant him all that he demands, and every thing that is capable of flattering, and of increasing his pride. On the part of the Russians, the war is continued ; on the part of the Emperor, an armistice is agreed on, a peace concluded. Once more ; what is become of that indissoluble alliance ?

‘ I dare assure you, Sir, that if the army of the Emperor had been at the last extremity, the court of Vienna would have infallibly obtained, with the assistance of the Empress my Sovereign, a peace more honorable than that which has been made.

‘ If a retrospect to what has passed may be recommended, it will be remarked of the Empress my Sovereign,

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‘ That,

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‘ That, *First*, Her Majesty, singly and alone, terminated the war of Poland against Stanislaus and the confederate Poles, in spite of France and Sweden, who spared neither money nor cabals to place Stanislaus on the throne from which we drove him, and placed in his stead Augustus, Elector of Saxony.

‘ *Secondly*. Her Majesty sent an auxiliary body of ten thousand foot, as far as the Rhine, to the imperial army, and another body was ready to march thither, in case of need: dispositions these which contributed greatly to the last peace concluded with France.

‘ *Thirdly*. Her Majesty, early and alone, undertook the present entirely inevitable war against the Turks, leaving to the Emperor the choice of furnishing the stipulated succors, or of taking part in the war.

‘ *Fourthly*. Her Majesty’s army took the forts of Azoph and of Lutrick, laid waste the Cuban, and reduced the Tartar inhabitants of that province.

‘ *Fifthly*. Her Majesty’s arms have reduced Precop, a fort which had been always reputed impregnable; they made the Turkish garrison prisoners two different times; they took a numerous artillery from them, penetrated as far as Koslow, Karas-Bazar, Bachtschy-Seray, and into the very heart of the Crimea, ruining and destroying the whole country; they entirely dislodged the Nogay-Tartars, who had their habitations between the Crimea and Dnieper, taking from them an innumerable quantity of horned cattle and horses.

‘ *Sixthly*. The forts of Ockzakow and Kinburn have been likewise taken by her Majesty’s troops; and the first of these was afterwards effectually

‘ defended

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‘ defended against the Turks, who strove to retake
 ‘ it. It may be calculated, that on all these occa-
 ‘ sions, one with the other, there have perished
 ‘ from forty to forty-five thousand of the enemies ;
 ‘ and a numerous artillery has fallen into our hands.

‘ *Seventhly.* The Russian fleet has, for four
 ‘ campaigns, held in play that of the Turks, com-
 ‘ manded by the captain Bashaw, who infested the
 ‘ sea of Azoph, and the Black-sea.

‘ *Eighthly.* The court of Petersburg has, at an
 ‘ immense expence, frustrated all the cabals of
 ‘ Sweden and Poland, which were on the point of
 ‘ breaking out into a dangerous conspiracy : its
 ‘ troops, I repeat it, had beaten the enemy near
 ‘ Chockzim, and totally conquered Moldavia.

‘ But, not to run into too great a length, I shall
 ‘ not alledge here all the other things that have been
 ‘ done in favor of the court of Vienna ; I shall only
 ‘ say, that it might have safely relied on an ally so
 ‘ faithful, so great, and so fortunate, as my most
 ‘ gracious Sovereign undoubtedly is ; and not have,
 ‘ contrary to all expectation, and without the ex-
 ‘ cuse of any eminent danger, made a peace so
 ‘ shameful, and so very detrimental to the interests
 ‘ of both courts. Besides, the whole world knows,
 ‘ and how many examples have not we of it, that
 ‘ the Turks are frequently liable to the surprises of
 ‘ sudden panic-terrors ; and often obliged, by the
 ‘ mutinies of the Janisaries, to betake themselves to
 ‘ flight, in the very time that they are thought the
 ‘ strongest. The same thing might have been
 ‘ hoped, if there had been a vigorous defence of
 ‘ Belgrade. The garrison had a secure retreat,
 ‘ and a strong castle behind it : there was nothing
 ‘ to be lost, nor so much as risqued, by defending
 ‘ that place to the last extremity.

‘ Never will there be any credit given to the spe-
 ‘ cious pretext under which it is now attempted to

Q₂

‘ persuade

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‘ persuade the world, that the court of Vienna had to bear the greatest burthen of the war.

‘ We have an authentic list of the troops routed at Havoutschane, which we got from the Hospodar’s private secretary, by name Alexander Ducas. This list makes it manifestly appear, that the army of the Turks and Tartars, which acted against us, and was commanded by so many Bashaws, was considerably more numerous than that before Belgrade. It is to the Russian army that a grateful acknowledgment is due, for its having hindered the Turks from entering into Transylvania: it is the Russian army that can, from experience, give the best account of the Tartars, and especially the Nogays, being better soldiers than the Turkish cavalry, and the Spahis, who compose it. When we add to this number of enemies, who were all picked men, the garrisons of Bender, Bulgorod, and Janikola, and the Turkish fleet, on which there were in this campaign above thirty thousand combatants; it may easily be judged, on which of the two sides the enemy has been, during this war, the most numerous and the most formidable, and which of the two allies has borne the greatest weight.

‘ To provide two different armies with artillery and stores for a whole campaign; to convey the provisions and ammunition for them the length of more than two hundred leagues in our own carriages, is unquestionably a burthen which the imperial army never felt; for, as to ours, it required more than two hundred thousand horses, oxen, and camels, none of which are, at the end of a campaign, in any condition of service for the following one. My Sovereign has also been obliged to cause two flotillas to cruise, the one on the Don, and the other on the Dnieper, at which there were employed every year as far as fifty thousand men, as well as horses.

‘ But

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‘ But what the most fatigued our troops was,
‘ that, even after having undergone the most severe
‘ fatigues during the campaigns, they have been
‘ obliged to form a chain of above three hundred
‘ German miles upon our frontiers, to hinder the ir-
‘ ruptions which the Tartars used yearly to make.
‘ I dare assure you, Sir, that there is not that army
‘ in Europe, except a Russian one, that is able to
‘ endure such fatigues. But your Highness,
‘ and all the world, at the same time, will readily
‘ judge, that all this must have occasioned an extra-
‘ ordinary expence to her imperial Majesty, who
‘ found no other resource for it but her own trea-
‘ sury.

‘ As to any thing farther, I cheerfully grant to
‘ the Imperialists the honor of having had the Grand
‘ Vizier opposed to them. He had, doubtless, his
‘ reasons for preferring to remain on the banks of
‘ the Danube. He could not so easily have pene-
‘ trated to Kiow as to Belgrade and Orsowa. At
‘ least, we would have spared him the half of the
‘ way, if he had chosen to have us to deal with soon-
‘ er than with you.

‘ We detest a shameful peace. The Turks made
‘ advances to us; they offered us even advantageous
‘ conditions, but the Empress, my Sovereign, would
‘ not listen to them. At present, the peace is con-
‘ cluded between the Emperor and the Turks. As
‘ to the court of Peterburgh, I find a profound si-
‘ lence is observed about it, both in your Highness’s
‘ letter, and the journal thereto annexed.

‘ I am not ignorant of the Marquess of Ville-
‘ neuve the French ambassador’s having a limited
‘ instruction, according to which he may make the
‘ peace with the Porte.

‘ If it is not to be granted to us upon favorable
‘ conditions, with an equivalent to be given for
‘ Chockzim

1739. ' Chockzim and Moldavia, I will continue hostilities,
' under the auspices of God.

' I have the honor to entreat of your Highness to
' communicate my answer and journal to marshal
' count Wallis ; and am, &c.

MUNICH.'

Some days before that the count Munich had learned the news of this peace, he had detached the brigadier Frolow, who commanded the Cossacks of the Don, with all the troops under him, which might amount to above five thousand, with orders to make an irruption as far as the Danube, and lay waste all the enemy's country in his way. The brigadier had been successful enough in his march as far as the river ; but, on his return, he had advice that a great body of the Turks and Tartars was marching against him, and that his junction with the marshal Munich's army was absolutely cut off. He had then no other expedient for saving himself, but to take refuge in Transylvania, and by crossing this province and Poland, to return to the army, or into Russia, according to the conjunctures.

As he knew the alliance between the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, he made no doubt of being well received by Prince Lobkowitz. When, then, he found himself near the frontiers of Transylvania, he sent a notification to the Prince of his arrival, and of the reasons that obliged him to take that recourse. Instead, however, of a friendly reception, there were, at first, great difficulties made against letting him at all enter into the country ; nor was it till after a great deal of contestation that the passage was at length granted him ; and, even then, they treated him and his troops, as if they had been prisoners. Three regiments of hussars, and two of cuirassiers, surrounded, and served them for escort into Poland. Nothing was furnished them ;
they

they were forced to pay for every thing in ready money, and at an exorbitant price; they were not allowed so much as to graze their horses, or to send out a foraging for them; and what was worse than all that, if a Cossack happened to straggle a hundred paces or so from the main body, he was unmercifully massacred by the Austrian hussars for the sake of his horse and arms. For the horses of the Cossacks of the Don are remarkably good, their musquets are screwed and damask-worked, and their sabres excellently well tempered.

Brigadier Frolow lost, in this manner, near two hundred men by the hands of the *good friends and allies* of Russia; scarce had he lost so many in the whole campaign, in the frequent skirmishes he had had with the enemies.

It may easily be imagined, that the court of Petersburg made great complaints of these procedures; but had no other satisfaction from the court of Vienna than excuses.

Count Munich continued to make some marches towards the Budziack; but as he knew there were measures taken for concluding a peace between Russia and the Porte, and the season beginning to be cold, he resolved to put his troops into quarters of cantonment in Moldavia, a country which he had no sort of inclination to quit; and, according to the repartition he had planned of the winter-quarters, a part of the army was to take them up in Poland.

It may, I presume, be now proper to mention what steps were taken by the court of Russia towards effectuating a peace.

In the first place, the court had given to marshal Munich, at his opening the campaign, a full power to conclude a peace, in case of his finding a favorable opportunity for it; they had even given him a

secretary

Steps taken by the court of Russia towards a peace.

1739. secretary of the cabinet, to be employed by him in any overture of a negotiation.

The courts of Petersburg and Vienna had accepted the mediation of France between them and the Porte. The Empress also gave charge of this negotiation to the Marquess de Villeneuve, the French minister, and sent a counsellor of the chancery, Mons. de Cagnoni, to manage her interests, jointly with M. de Villeneuve. Every thing passed under the name of the ambassador of France, but, properly speaking, it was M. de Cagnoni who had the confidence of the Russian court, and the full powers to conclude the peace.

He was at the camp, when M. de Neuport signed that of the Emperor, and protested against the whole procedure in it; but in vain. Things were too far advanced before he was made acquainted with them. At length, there was a necessity of yielding to the force of the conjuncture; and the signature of the preliminaries between Russia and the Porte took place a month after that, on the part of the Emperor.

The Russian army quits Moldavia, and returns into the Ukrain.

Towards the end of the month of October, marshal Munich had orders to cease hostilities. Jassy was abandoned, and Chockzim restored to the Turks in the same condition as it had been taken from them. It was also stipulated by the peace, that Azoph should remain to the Russians, but that the out-works should be demolished, and nothing left but the town within the precinct, without any garrison to be put into it, or any fortification round it. It was likewise allowed to the Russians, that they might extend their frontiers twenty German miles into the *steps*, and keep Samara and its districts. The Turks were not to fortify on this side of the river of Cuban; but as to Ockzakow, they might take possession of it again, as well as of Kinburn, and put those places into a state of defence.

The

The prisoners on both sides were to be released without ransom. 1739.

In short, all the advantage Russia gained by this war was very trifling, in comparison of the immense sums it cost her, and of more than a hundred thousand lives of subjects lost in it.

The army repassed the Dniester, and returned into Ukrain. Chockzim was not restored to the Turks, till the month of November, that Mont. de Lowendahl delivered it up to the Bashaw, who was sent to receive it. When the Russian troops repassed the Dniester, this river was already floating great pieces of ice; there was no possibility of refitting the bridges that had been broke, so that there occurred great difficulties against the passing of the troops, and more yet against the getting the equipages and the artillery over. But as the bottom of the river was firm, Lowendahl made the guns and their carriages be drawn under the ice with strong ropes, and long enough to reach from one side of the river; the cannon were hauled over with capstans.

This campaign is unquestionably the most glorious and the most fortunate that the Russian arms had to boast, during the war. It was well it was so; for if the contrary had happened, and count Munich's army had been beaten, the empire of Russia would have been in a very bad condition: the whole of his army would have perished without resource. Those who had not died by the hands of the Turks, would have been massacred by the Poles, who had assembled in several bodies; and, as they had never loved the Russians, they wished them worse than they did the Turks and Tartars, and most certainly, would not have failed of commencing hostilities, if the Russians had met with any considerable check or loss. So long as the army marched on the Polish territories, no deputations were seen in the camp, but to make grievous complaints

Reflections on the campaign of 1739.

1739. complaints of the violences committed on the dominions of the republic. But then, as soon as the Russians had beaten the enemy, and taken Chockzim, the Poles changed their tone, and sent solemn deputations to marshal Munich to congratulate him, declaring themselves, withal, the best friends and allies of Russia.

Steps tak-
en by
Sweden.

Neither was Sweden oversatisfied with the court of Petersburg, and, for some years past, was waiting for nothing but a fair occasion to attack it. Already, in the last disturbances in Poland, several Swedish officers, as I have precedently observed, had obtained the permission to go and serve King Stanislaus at Dantzick against the Russians. These having been made prisoners at the taking of that town, the Empress sent them back to Sweden; not, however, without shewing some signs of discontent at the Swedish procedure. A new treaty of alliance was, nevertheless, concluded in 1735, and every thing had appeared quieted. But so soon as the Russians had declared war against the Turks, the Swedes grew alert again, and had already in 1737, and especially in the year 1738, that they had convened a diet, made many arrangements, which gave uneasiness to the court of Petersburg. They had sent arms and cannon to Constantinople. A treaty was talked of as concluded between them and the Porte; and Russia was afraid of being attacked in Finland, while her armies were employed near the Dniester and the Crimea; the Swedes having already sent ten thousand men into Finland, and begun to form magazines there. This was partly the cause of marshal Lacy's army not having proceeded on any operation this year, but remained quiet on the frontiers of the Ukrain. For the same reason, marshal Munich, after that he had passed the Dnieper, in the disposition for opening the campaign, received an order from the court to send back two regiments of cuirassiers, and three regiments of foot, who, without a moment's delay, set out on their march for Petersburg.

1739. Petersburg. All these precautions of Russia happened to be needless; for Sweden was so very good as to wait two years longer before they attacked her, suffering her first to make a peace with the Porte, and to get her army again into good order. Accordingly, they got nothing by their war but shame and disadvantage, as will be shewn hereafter; whereas if they had begun it in 1738, Russia would have been extremely embarrassed.

The court of Stockholm was wasting the time in negociations and fruitless complaints, while that of Petersburg was in action, and playing every imaginable engine to break its measures. Nay, the precautions that Russia took against the Swedish cabals amounted to the most violent remedies, even to murder itself on the highway, as the following narrative will shew.

I have precedently observed, that there was a *Assassina-* talk of a treaty between Sweden and the Porte. *tion of* Monf. de Bestuchoff, who resided at Stockholm, in *major* quality of minister of Russia, gave advice to his *Sinclair.* court, that major Sinclair had been sent to Constantinople, whence he was to bring back the ratification of this treaty. Upon this news, marshal Munich, by order of the cabinet, sent certain officers, accompanied by some subalterns, into Poland, who were to disperse themselves into different places, and try to carry off Sinclair on his return from Constantinople; to take away all his letters and dispatches, and even to kill him, in case of resistance. The officers, as they could not be every where, employed some Jews, and some of the poorer Polish gentlemen, to get information of the arrival of Sinclair, so that the danger was divulged before he set his foot on the territories of Poland, and he had warning from the governor of Chockzim to take care of himself, for that there were lying in wait for him several Russian officers, particularly at Lemberg

1739.

Lemberg or Leopol, by the way of which he had proposed to pass. Upon this, Sinclair changed his route, and the Bashaw of Chockzim gave him an escort that saw him safe to Breda, where the crown-general of Poland was, who gave him another escort, with which he got safe into Silesia. There he thought himself safe; but having been obliged to stop a few days at Breslaw, the Russian officers, who learnt by their spies the road he had taken, pursued, and overtook him within a mile of Newstadel. There they stopped him, took away his arms; and, after having carried him some miles farther, massacred him in a wood. After this noble stroke, they took his clothes and his papers, in which, however, nothing of consequence was found. The court of Russia having had them examined, sent them some months afterwards by the post to Hamburg, whence they were forwarded to Sweden.

The Empress disavowed this execrable action, protesting solemnly her having no knowledge of it. Her ministers presented memorials to all the courts, to remove all suspicion that might have been entertained of that of Russia; and that the assassins themselves might not be able to betray the secret, they were all seized and sent to Siberia, where they spent some years in dungeons, till the Empress Elizabeth, ascending the throne, released them, and had them placed in garrison-regiments in the innermost parts of the country.

Those employed in this affair were, the secretary Kuttler, native of Silesia, the lieutenants Lesowitzky and Weselowfky, both subjects of Russia, each of whom had two subalterns to assist them. The two first committed the assassination; the third remained in Poland, but underwent, nevertheless, the same treatment as the others.

Certain it is, that the Empress did not know the orders that were given to the officers about Sinclair, and that a great part of these proceedings were concealed

ceased from her even after the assassination. All this affair was juggled up among the duke of Courland, count Osterman, and marshal Munich.

1739.

To conclude what relates to this war against the Turks, and to the operations of this campaign, I shall insert here a letter, which count Munich wrote to the duke of Courland, some time after the taking of Chockzim. It is translated from the German original.

LETTER from Count MUNICH to
the Duke of COURLAND, Sept.
29, 1739.

‘ MY LORD DUKE,

‘ It must be owned, that God gives a blessing to all the enterprises of her imperial majesty, our most gracious Sovereign. The Pruth, which had been almost a curse to Russia, is become favorable to us, and will be the basis of a lasting and honorable peace.

‘ To assemble an army, quite from the Don, the Donetz, the lines of Ukrain, and from several other of the remotest provinces from the Dniester, at their rendezvous at Kiow : ----- To make it pass the Dnieper, which had this last spring swelled extraordinarily, and overflowed its banks for near a German mile : ----- To march from the frontiers of Russia, as far as Moldavia, by the way of Poland, without taking the least thing of ammunition or carriages to pass the Bogh, the Dniester, and the defiles of Tschernantza, or Precop, in presence of the enemy, without suffering the least damage; to carry off beyond the Pruth and Moldavia, and, as it were, on the back of the enemy, several thousands of horses, horned-cattle, and sheep; and provide
‘ by

1739.

‘ by these means at once for our carriages and
 ‘ victualment, at the expence of the enemy, with-
 ‘ out losing a single man : ----- To repulſe, with a
 ‘ conſiderable loſs, the attacks of the Turks and
 ‘ Tartars, and drive the famous Kaltſchack Baſh-
 ‘ ſhaw, with all the Tartar Hordes, the Kipkans,
 ‘ and all thoſe bravoës, who neither give nor take
 ‘ quarter, from one advantageous camp to ano-
 ‘ ther : ----- To attack, in ſhort, the Seraskier Ve-
 ‘ ly Baſhaw in a well-intrenched camp, where he
 ‘ was at the head of an army of ninety thouſand
 ‘ men, of which he had detached a part to entire-
 ‘ ly ſurround us, there to beat him, and take all
 ‘ his tents and baggages, ſix mortars, and forty-
 ‘ two braſs cannon, with all the ammunitions to
 ‘ them, and this without having more than ſeventy
 ‘ men in all killed and wounded : ----- To take
 ‘ the important fort of Chockzim, provided with a
 ‘ hundred and fifty-ſeven cannon, and twenty-
 ‘ two mortars, with all the military ſtores, and
 ‘ proviſions in proportion ; to make there a Baſhaw
 ‘ and all his gariſon priſoners of war, without ſo
 ‘ much as burning a match : ----- To purſue the
 ‘ fugitive enemy to the Pruth ; to paſs this river
 ‘ with an army ; to build ſmall forts on its banks,
 ‘ and thereby take poſſeſſion, in the miſt of an
 ‘ enemy’s dominions ; to drive the Hoſpodar of
 ‘ Moldavia out of the country, and out of his reſi-
 ‘ dence to the other ſide of the Danube ; to raiſe
 ‘ contributions and maintenance in an enemy’s
 ‘ country, and, with all that, to ſee our army
 ‘ without ſick, in the miſt of abundance, and in
 ‘ the beſt condition in the world ; all theſe great
 ‘ things, I ſay, it muſt be confeſſed, could never
 ‘ be executed without the hand of God conducting
 ‘ every thing to a happy end.

‘ The greateſt part of theſe facts are ſuch, that,
 ‘ without having been preſent at them, it is hardly
 ‘ poſſible

1739.

‘ possible not to doubt of the circumstances, particularly of the Janisaries having, in the fury of their attack, been received with so terrible a fire, that they could neither make use of their small arms nor sabres, and less yet accomplish the breaking our ranks: Who could conceive that the terror too of the enemies was so great, that numbers threw themselves into the Pruth three days after the action, and that the greatest part of them ran away to the Danube, without once looking behind them? On the other hand, no army was ever more desirous of fighting than ours.

‘ I receive every day solemn deputations, and letters of congratulation from Poland; nor is it to be doubted, that, with the divine favor, this campaign will terminate gloriously. I am, &c.

MUNICH.

After having treated of what passed in the army in the course of this year, I proceed now to the most considerable incidents at court.

The Empress, though taken up with so expensive and bloody a war, had, however, a mind to conclude the marriage which had been projected for many years, between her niece, Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, and Prince Anthony Ulrick of Brunswick, who had resided at court ever since the year 1733.

Nuptials
of the
Prince
Anthony
Ulrick
with the
Princess
Anne.

The marquis of Botta, who had succeeded to count Ostein, in quality of minister of the court of Vienna, took the character of ambassador; and, in a public audience, demanded, in the name of the Emperor, the Princess Anne in marriage for Prince Anthony Ulrick, nephew of the Empress of the Romans.

The

1739.

The espousals were solemnised a few days after this audience, and on the 14th of July (1739) they were celebrated with all possible magnificence.

The equipages and dresses that were to appear at this ceremony, had been preparing for a twelve-month before.

The archbishop of Novogorod pronounced the nuptial blessing, in the church of the Holy Virgin of Casan, and made, on this occasion, a sermon much admired, that was printed.

When the Empress Elizabeth ascended the throne, it was suppressed, there being several strokes in it that were not relished.

On the day of that ceremony no one imagined that the union of this Prince and Princess would one day produce their greatest misfortune, as well as that of many persons of distinction. The Princess Anne was then looked on as the presumptive heiress of the crown; I am persuaded too, that she could not have failed of it, if the duke of Courland had not opposed it. I shall have occasion to speak of this more at large, when I come to treat of the sickness and death of the Empress Anne.

Magnificence of the court of Peterburgh.

These nuptials, however, furnish me the hint of giving an idea of the magnificence of the court, and of the Empress's usual manner of living.

Speaking of the duke of Courland, I have already observed, that he was a great lover of pomp and splendid show: this was enough to inspire the Empress with a desire to have her court the most brilliant of all Europe. Considerable sums were sacrificed to this intention of the Empress, which was not however, so soon fulfilled. The richest coat would be sometimes worn together with

with the vilest uncombed wig ; or you might see a beautiful piece of stuff spoiled by some botcher of a tailor ; or if there was nothing amiss in the dress, the equipage would be deficient. A man richly dressed would come to court in a miserable coach, drawn by the wretchedest hacks. The same want of taste reigned in the furniture and neatness of their houses. On one side, you might see gold and silver plate in heaps, on the other, a shocking dirtiness.

The dress of the ladies corresponded with that of the men ; for one well-dressed woman, you might see ten frightfully disfigured ; yet is the fair sex in Russia generally handsome ; that is to say, they have good faces enough, but very few have fine shapes.

This incongruity of Russian finery and show was almost universal ; there were few houses, indeed, especially in the first years of the reform, where every thing was of a piece. Little by little others imitated the example of those who had taste. But, not even the court, nor Biron, succeeded at the first in getting every thing into that order and arrangement which are seen elsewhere. This was the work of years. Yet must it be owned, that, at length, every thing grew to be well regulated, except that the magnificence ran into excess, and cost the court immense sums. It is incredible how much money went out of the empire upon this account. A courtier that did not lay out above two or three thousand rubles, or from four to six hundred pounds a year in his dress, made no great figure. One might very well apply here the saying of a Saxon officer to the late King of Poland, advising him to widen the gates of the town to let in the whole villages that the gentlemen carried on their backs. In Russia, all those who had the honor to serve the court, hurt their fortunes by overdressing, the salaries not being sufficient to afford the making such a
R figure.

1739. figure. It was enough for a dealer in the commodities of luxury and fashion to remain two or three years at Petersburg, to gain a competency for the rest of his life, even though he should have begun the world there with goods upon credit.

The Empress
Anne's
usual manner of life.

The Empress's usual manner of life was very regular. She was always up before eight in the morning. At nine, she began to dispatch affairs with her secretary and ministers. At noon, she dined in her chamber with the Biron family. It was only in the great solemnities that she eat in public. When that happened, she was placed in a throne, under a canopy, with the two princesses, Elizabeth, since Empress, and Anne of Mecklenburgh. On this occasion, the high-chancellor waited at table. Here was commonly also a great table in the same hall, for the first noblemen and ladies of the Empire, for the clergy and foreign ministers. But in the last years of the Empress's life, she did not any longer eat in public, nor were the foreign ministers treated at the court. In the greatest festivals count Osterman invited them to dinner with him.

In summer, the Empress took a great deal of exercise in walking; and in winter, with playing at billiards. She made light suppers, and went early to bed, between eleven and twelve.

The court used to pass the best part of the fine season at a summer-house, which Peter I. had built at about seven leagues distance from Petersburg, called Peterhoff. It is one of the most pleasant situations that can be imagined. It stands on the sea-side; whence you may, on the left, see Cronstadt, and the whole fleet; on the right, there is a prospect of Petersburg, and over against it are the coasts of Finland. There is a spacious garden to it, and magnificent *jet-d'eau*s, but the house is very indifferent; the apartments are extremely small and low.

The

The rest of the summer, the Empress resided at her summer-palace at Petersburgh, which is far from being a good building, on the banks of the Neva: the garden to it is very large, and well enough kept in order.

The Princess Anne caused a new house to be set about, the old one falling almost to ruins, but had not the time to finish it. It was reserved for the Empress Elizabeth to see the last hand put to it.

There was deep play at court: many made their fortunes by it in Russia, and many others were ruined. I have myself often seen as far as twenty thousand rubles lost in one sitting at *quinze* or at *pharoab*.

The Empress did not much love play; if she did play, it was only to lose. She then held the bank; and none were allowed to punt but those to whom she called. The person that won was immediately paid; but as they played with counters, she never received the money of those who lost.

She was fond of public entertainments and music; and sent for from Italy all that was necessary for that purpose. Comedies, acted both in Italian and in German, pleased her extremely. In 1736, the first opera was played at Petersburgh, and very well executed, though less liked than comedy, and the Italian interludes.

In the time of Peter I. and in the following reigns, drinking had been much practised at court; it was not so in the time of Anne, she could not bear to see any one drunk. There was nobody but Prince Kourakin that had free permission to drink as much as he pleased. But that the habit of it might not be entirely lost, the 29th of January, (Old Style) being the day of the Empress's accession to the throne, was consecrated to Bacchus. Then every one was obliged to toss off a great bumper of Hungary-wine, with one knee on the ground, in the

1739. presence of her Majesty. This reminds me of another singular enough ceremony. On the eve of the great festivals, the courtiers, and officers of the guards, had the honor of paying their compliments to her Majesty, and of kissing her hand: her majesty at the same time presented each a glass of wine on a salver.

Comic
nuptials
of the
Prince
Gallitzin.

Towards the end of the year 1739, the Empress gave a comic entertainment. Prince Gallitzin was the occasion of it. Though above forty years of age, and even having a son serving in the army, in the rank of lieutenant, he was made at once page and buffoon of the court, by way of punishment for his having changed his religion. His first wife being dead, the Empress told him he ought to marry again, and that she would be at the expence of the wedding. He accepted the proposal; and pitching upon a girl in low life, acquainted the Empress of his choice, and claimed her promise. The Empress, in giving this entertainment, had a mind, at the same time, to see how many different kinds of inhabitants there were in her vast dominions. Accordingly, she caused orders to be dispatched to the governors at the provinces to send up to Peterburgh several persons of both sexes. These being arrived, they, at the expence of the court, were new drest, each in the habit of his respective country.

Monf. de Walinsky was appointed manager of the arrangements for this wedding, and winter was the season chosen for the celebration of it. The Empress, to make it the more completely extraordinary, had a house built wholly of ice: it consisted of two chambers, in which every thing of furniture, even the bed-place on which the new-married couple were to lie, was to be of ice. There were four small cannon and two mortars made of the same matter. The cannon were fired several times, with half

half an ounce of powder in each, without bursting; and little wooden grenades were thrown out of the mortars, without their being damaged.

1739.

On the wedding-day that the feast was to be celebrated, all the guests were assembled in the court-yard of Walinsky: thence the procession set out, and passed before the imperial palace, and through the principal streets of the town. There was a great train, consisting of more than three hundred persons. The new-married couple were placed upon an elephant, in a great cage. The guests, two and two, were in a sledge, drawn by all kinds of beasts, as rain-deer, dogs, oxen, goats, hogs, &c. Some were mounted on camels. After the procession had gone the round prescribed to it, it was brought into the duke of Courland's riding-house, where a flooring of planks had been laid for the purpose, and where there was a dinner prepared for them on several tables. Each was treated according to the manner of cookery in his own country. After the repast, there was a ball: each nation had its own music, and its own way of dancing. When the ball was over, the bride-groom and bride were conducted into the house of ice, where they were put into a dismally cold bed, with guards posted at the door, that they might not get out before morning.

Having recited these particularities of the court, I return to the general affairs.

The peace having been concluded between Russia and the Porte, under the mediation of France, the French King sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of Petersburg. It was the marquis de la Chetardie that was invested with this character. He arrived at Petersburg in the month of January. On the part of Russia, Prince Cantemir, who had resided for some years in England, was sent in the same quality to the **court of Versailles**. It will appear

1740.
Arrival of
the mar-
quis de la
Chetardie
at Peterf-
burgh.

1740. appear in the sequel, that La Chetardie played, at different times, some capital parts in the political theatre of Russia.

Proclama-
tion of the
peace, and
rejoicings.

In the month of January, the peace was ratified at Constantinople; and in the beginning of February, Mons. de Neplueff, counsellor of legation, and son of the minister who had assisted at the congress of Nemirow, brought the ratification to Peterburgh. As soon as the Empress had received it, she sent couriers to the marshals Munich and Lacy, to invite them to court. They arrived there the 24th of February, and the 26th the peace was solemnly proclaimed. There were on this occasion great rejoicings, and great promotions in the army. Munich was declared lieutenant-colonel of the Preotbratzkensky regiment of guards, a post to which he had long aspired, without having been able to obtain it, and which, some time after, made the duke of Courland heartily repent of having procured it for him; for, without that post, it would have been difficult for him to have seized and made him prisoner in the manner he did.

Prince Anthony Ulrick was also declared lieutenant-colonel of the guards, of the regiment Semencowsky, and lieutenant-general of the army. I shall say nothing of the other promotions, nor of the gratifications bestowed by the Empress on her ministers and generals; it will be enough to observe, that these last were immense. The duke of Courland had, for his share alone, five hundred thousand rubles in ready-money, about 100,000*l*.

Arrange-
ments af-
ter the
peace.

The court had, during the course of the war, augmented the number of generals of the army, in so much that they greatly exceeded the number prescribed by the military establishment of Peter I. After the peace, it was thought proper to reduce the supernumeraries, upon which several of the old generals, who were wishing for retreat, had permis-

sion

sion to resign; others were employed in the affairs of the ministry. 1740.

The Empress did more: she caused an edict to be published, in which permission was given to every gentleman who had been twenty years in the army, and had made campaigns, to petition for leave to lay down the service; but no sooner was this ordinance published, than the number of petitioners was excessive. Half, at least, of the officers presented petitions for leave to resign; each pretending to have served above twenty years. There were seen young men, who were scarce past thirty, that insisted on their discharge; for having, at the age of ten or twelve years, had their names inrolled in some regiment, they reckoned from that date the time of their service. Several even who had not a cupeck at home, preferred, however, retiring to their respective countries, there to cultivate their fields with their own hands, to the military service. This made it necessary, some months after, to repeal the ordinance.

It was the marshal Munich that had furnished this project, and when it was revoked, he underwent the mortification of some reproaches, very severe and very undeserved, for his being the author of the measure, which, at bottom, only tended to the greater good of the state.

The republic of Poland had beheld, with very envious eyes, the progresses which the Russians had made in the war against the Turks, and who was extremely angry, that, during the last two wars, their army had taken the liberty to march over its territory, sent count Oginfsky, in quality of ambassador, to Petersburg, to make complaints, and demand the being satisfied for the excesses which the troops had committed in those marches. The pretensions of the Poles on this account were exorbitant. The Empress named commissioners, who examined, upon the spot, the damages, and who estimated them

1740. them at very little; but the complaints did not cease till the Empress had disbursed some hundred thousand of rubles.

I have already mentioned, that in the year 1738, some bomb-shells, balls, and other ammunitions of war, with carriages, belonging to the train, were left behind in Poland. The Empress wanted to put them off in discount of part of the debt exacted from her. The republic of Poland would not accept them in payment: and as the bringing of them away into the Ukrain would have cost more than the things were worth, she would have made a present of them to the republic, but even that was refused; so that, without farther concern about what the Polanders might say, the whole was left to whoever would take them.

Gen.
Keith
made go-
vernor of
the Uk-
rain.

General Romanzow, to whom the court had, after the death of Prince Baraitinsky, given the government of the Ukrain, was chosen to be sent ambassador to Constantinople. The point then was, to provide in his room a man of probity, and disinterested; for, as this province had suffered extremely during the whole time of the war with the Turks, having, for four years successively, alone afforded winter-quarters to all the military forces of Russia, and carriages for draught to all the stores for the campaign, this had reduced the country to a wretched condition; besides which, not only the governors, but even the subaltern officers had oppressed and ruined the inhabitants. The court wanted to put things into order again, to remedy these exactions, and to raise out of this deplorable condition one of the finest countries in its whole empire. General Keith then was the person chosen to govern them, who was just returned from France, where he had been for a cure of his wounds. He had orders to repair to Glogaw, in quality of governor, where he did not reside above one year;

but

but in that time he had dispatched more business than his predecessors had done in ten. The Uk-
rain received great benefit from the mildness of his government, and from the order he established in the administration of affairs. He had begun to introduce, even among the Cossacks, a sort of discipline, which till then had been unknown to them, but he had not time to complete his work, for the war coming on with Sweden, caused him to be recalled. When he quitted Glogaw, the whole country regretted him, saying, it was wrong in the court to give them a governor who had so satisfactorily made them know the difference between him and his predecessors, or, that having once given them such an one, it ought to have left them him; and that his successors would only become the more insupportable to them, for the pleasure they had tasted in being governed with such gentleness.

Some months after the peace, the Empress approved of a project, which, in its consequences, came to be most pernicious to the Princess Anne; this was, the building barracks, or rather villages, near Peterburgh, for lodging the regiments of foot-guards, who till then had been dispersedly quartered upon the inhabitants of the town. The ground was marked out, and the regiments went to work with such diligence, that the year following they were lodged in their own buildings.

These barracks, where the whole regiment was assembled in one place, and where, through a great defect of discipline, all the officers are not obliged to lodge at the same time, facilitated much the revolution which the Princess Elizabeth undertook and executed so successfully.

In the month of August, the court ordered the seizure of Mons. de Walinsky, minister of the cabinet; of the count Mousckin-Pouschkin, president of the college of trade; of the privy-counsellor Chroutschew;

Barracks
or villa-
ges for
the
guards.

Mons. de
Walinsky
seized and
executed.

1740.

Chroutschew ; of the superintendant of the board of works, Jerepkin ; of the private secretary of the cabinet, Eichler ; and of another secretary, called Sowda. There were several crimes laid to Walinsky's charge, but his greatest crime was, the misfortune of having incurred the duke of Courland's displeasure.

During some days of coolness between the Empress and her favorite the duke, Walinsky had given this Princess a memorial in which he accused the duke of Courland, and several others, who were about her Majesty. But he particularly aimed at infusing into her suspicions of the duke, and advised the Empress to dismiss him.

This Princess having made it up with her favorite, had the weakness to put this memorial into his hands, in which there were but too many truths. The duke had no sooner read it than he resolved the ruin of his secretary ; and as Walinsky was a man extremely haughty, impetuous, and often imprudent in his talk, and even in his actions, the other soon found the occasion he was seeking.

He was tried, and convicted of having often been guilty of speeches too free, and too disrespectful against the Empress and her favourite ; so that he was condemned, first to have his hand cut off, and then his head. The sentence was executed. The privy-counsellor Chroutschew, and Jerepkin, were also beheaded, because they were his friends and confidants. The count Mousckin-Pouschkin had his tongue cut out ; Eichler and Sowda underwent the knout, and were sent to Siberia. All the estates of these unfortunate persons were confiscated, and given to others, who did not possess them long after them. In this manner it is, that in Russia, not only money, but even lands, houses, and moveables, circulate quicker than in any other country

country in Europe. I have seen lands change masters at least thrice in the space of two years.

1740.

Walinsky was one that had wit, but a boundless ambition, a great deal of pride, vanity, and indiscretion. He was fond of forming cabals, and was all his life-time reckoned a turbulent spirit. Notwithstanding these faults, which he did not even know how to conceal, he had raised himself to the first posts of the empire. He had begun by serving in the military, where he had arrived at the rank of major-general. Having quitted the army, he was employed in the affairs of the state. Already, under the reign of Peter I. he had been sent as minister into Persia; he had been second of the embassy at the congress of Nemirow; and count Jagousinsky dying towards the end of the year 1736, he had, two years after, the post of minister in the cabinet, where he could not keep himself long, before he had disputes with count Osterman, who naturally did not love parts or wit in his colleagues; having, besides, drawn upon himself the resentment of the duke of Courland, he could not well avoid coming to an unfortunate end.

Count Bestucheff, whom we shall afterwards see playing a principal part in Russia, succeeded him in the place of minister of the cabinet. He was an intimate friend of the duke of Courland, who, as it was necessary for him to have some one in the cabinet that should be entirely devoted to his interest, preferred Bestucheff to all those who had any pretensions to that place.

The feuds between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm still continued. Russia, dissatisfied at the alliance of Sweden with the Porte, prohibited the exportation of grain from Livonia: and in Sweden, the assassination of Sinclair still made a great noise. The populace at Stockholm rose, and waited to plunder the house of the minister of Russia;

Misunderstanding with Sweden.

bt

1740. but this ended in only breaking his windows; the mob crying out, that they were inspired by the soul of Sinclair.

In the diet of Sweden, there were continual disputes; the one called the *Hats*, composed of almost the whole nobility of Sweden, of the officers of the army, and of some senators; these were for the war: the other, which had the King at the head of it, and comprehended mostly those of rather an advanced age, and those who knew the power of Russia, had the nickname of *Nightcaps*, and were for the continuation of the peace. These two parties were extremely animated against each other; and the count Bestucheff, brother of the minister of the cabinet, had people enough to inform him of the most secret resolutions; all which he communicated to the court, who made the necessary dispositions for beginning the war in case of need.

Mons. de Nolcken, minister of Sweden at Peterburgh, contributed greatly to inflame, among the party of the *Hats*, the desire of having a war, by observing, in his reports, that Russia was entirely ruined by its campaigns against the Turks; that the regiments were made up of nothing but young raw recruits, who scarce knew how to handle their arms, and that many of them wanted a third of their complement. *

Yet were these reports entirely false; for except those regiments which were returned from Ockzaw, where they had been in garrison, the Russian army was complete, and might almost be said to be in better order than ever before the war; and the regiments which had constituted the army under Lacy had suffered very little loss.

All

* The senate of Sweden had been accused of having sent Nolcken ready-made minutes of the reports he sent back to Sweden, with a positive order to write nothing from Peterburgh but what had been prescribed to him.

All this year passed in negociations. The French king offered his mediation, and proposed to adjust the broils arisen between Russia and Sweden, but the animosity of the Swedes was not to be pacified; they would have a war, though without making the necessary arrangements for it. At the eve of breaking with so formidable a power as that of Russia, the Swedes had but a very few troops in Finland, having recalled those they had sent there in 1738, nor had they hardly any victualment in the magazines of this province.

The court of Petersburgh acted upon quite another plan; taking all the necessary measures for giving the Swedes an effectual reception in case of an attack. The garrison of Wybourg was augmented with several regiments; the magazines were filled, and preparations were made for getting the fleet into good order.

Marshal Munich, accompanied with the hereditary Prince of Courland, took a trip, in the month of July, to Cronstadt, to inspect the fortifications, and to have a conference with the admiral, upon what service might be expected from the fleet and gallies in case of a rupture. Ten thousand foot had been put into garrison at Cronstadt, where they were employed at work on the fortifications, and on making a new dock. These were designed to be embarked on the gallies, if the war should be declared.

Marshal Munich inspects the condition of Cronstadt, Wybourg, &c.

On his return from this trip, Munich was ordered to take another to Wybourg, Kexholm, and Schluyfelburgh, to inspect also the condition of defence of those places, and to examine the frontiers of Finland. The hereditary Prince of Courland accompanied him too in this voyage; but little did he at that time dream, when in the fort of Schluyfelburgh, that, in a few months, this was to be the prison of his father and his whole family.

On

1740.

On the 4th of August, the Princess Anne was brought to bed of a boy, who was christened under the name of Iwan. * The Empress rejoiced extremely at this event, and immediately making a declaration of her considering the new-born infant as her own child, took it from its parents, and gave it an apartment joining to her own.

Hitherto every thing had gone on to the Empress's wish, but the end of her prosperity was come.

Sickness
of the
Empress.

Towards the end of September she fell sick; but as it appeared only the attack of a flying gout, and that her Majesty did not even keep her bed, nobody was uneasy about it. In a few days, however, her illness greatly increased: she had, besides the gout, a spitting of blood, and cruel pains about her kidney, so that they began to fear for her life.

Count Osterman, who had not for many years stirred out of his room, on account of a palsy in his feet, was obliged to be carried to court. The dispositions concerning the succession were then made, and the new-born Prince Iwan was declared Grand-Duke of Russia, and successor to the imperial crown. All the troops in quarters at Petersburg were assembled on the 18th of October, and the choice of a successor by the Empress was published at the head of all the regiments. Even the Princess Anne, the child's mother, and Elizabeth, and the Prince Ulrick, father to the infant, took an oath to acknowledge him in the proposed quality.

By the disposition made in this matter of the succession, the Empress had ordained, that in case of the Prince Iwan's decease in his minority, or without lawful heirs, the second of the sons born in

Transla-
tor's note.

* This was the unfortunate Prince lately murdered, after a confinement from his infancy.

in wedlock to the Princess Anne and Prince Anthony Ulrick should succeed, and so on, in the order of primogeniture.

The first great stroke had been now struck by the duke of Courland, in his procuring the exclusion of the Princess Anne from the succession, who, but for his continual cabals and influence, would have infallibly ascended the throne. The next point to be carried was, to establish a regency, and to get that regency conferred on himself. He durst not, however, declare his design openly, but having confidently intimated it to the baron of Mergden, chamberlain to the Empress, and president of the college of trade, so many cabals and artifices were employed in the cabinet and in the senate, that all who were in Petersburg of the clergy, of the ministry, and of the military, so high as the rank of a colonel, were brought into the cabinet to sign a memorial addressed to the duke of Courland, in which all the states intreated him to accept the regency, during the minority of the Grand-Duke, till he should have completed the age of seventeen years. This done, there still remained to bring the Empress to consent to this project, who was thereon so beset by the family of the Duke, and by his creatures, that she was not left an instant alone, for fear the Princess Anne should get a moment to speak to her. In short, the duke made her sign the act of regency, without, as it has been assured, her knowing the contents of it.

The Empress, growing worse and worse every day, died, at length, on the 28th of October, 1740, at the age of forty-six years, eight months and twenty days, after a reign of ten years, with all possible glory; without having undertaken any thing, in or out of the empire, in which she did not happily succeed.

She was naturally gentle and compassionate, never caring to use severity; but as she had a favorite extremely

1740.

The duke of Courland makes himself be appointed regent.

Death of the Empress.

1740.

extremely harsh and cruel, who had all the power in his hands, there was a prodigious number of people made unhappy in her reign. Many, and even some of them persons of distinction, were sent to Siberia without her knowledge.

IWAN III.
Emperor
of Russia.

The day after the decease of the Empress, the senate, the clergy, and all who were at that time of any consequence in Petersburg, were summoned to the summer-palace, where the Empress had passed the last days of her life; the troops were put under arms, and the duke of Courland caused the act to be publickly read, by which he was declared regent of the empire of Russia, till the Emperor Iwan III. should have completed his seventeenth year. Every one then took the oath of allegiance to the new Emperor, and every thing passed off quietly enough for the first days; but as the duke was universally detested, the murmuring soon began to break out.

The re-
gent has
many tak-
en up.

The regent, who had spies every where, soon learned that he was spoken of with contempt; that some officers of the guards, especially of the regiment of Semeneowsky, of which Prince Anthony Ulrick was lieutenant-colonel, had said, that if the Prince would undertake any thing against the regent, they would readily assist him. He was also informed, that the Princess Anne and her spouse resented their being excluded from the regency. Beginning then to be uneasy at this, he caused several officers to be taken up, and carried prisoners to the citadel: Grammatin, the adjutant of the Prince, was one of them. The general Ouschakow, president of the secret chancery, and the solicitor-general, Prince Troubetzkoy, had orders to examine them with all imaginable severity. Some of them had the knout inflicted on them, to bring them to an impeachment of others; in short, hardly a day passed, while this regency lasted, without some being apprehended.

Prince

Prince Anthony Ulrick, who was the lieutenant-general of the army, lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers, received an order to write to the regent, and request of him the dismissal from his posts. Nor was this enough, the regent caused him to be advised to keep his chamber, or at least not to shew himself in public.

The regent had frequent conferences with the Princess Elizabeth, which lasted several hours. One evening, he said, before a large company at his house, that if the Princess Anne was to give herself the airs of being refractory, he would pack her, with her prince, to Germany, and that he would send for the Duke of Holstein there, and place him on the throne.

The project of the duke of Courland, who had long aspired to the procuring the crown for his posterity, was to marry the Princess Elizabeth to his eldest son, and to match his daughter to the duke of Holstein; and I really believe, that if he had had sufficient time left him, he would have brought his plan happily to bear.

All this while, the Princess Anne and the Prince her spouse were under great uneasiness; from which, however, they were soon delivered.

Marshal Munich, who had been one of the forwardest and warmest in getting the regency for the duke of Courland, had imagined, that so soon as this Prince had the power in his own hand, he should obtain from him every thing he could desire; that the duke would have nothing but the title, while himself would have the power of the regent; in short, he aspired to be placed at the head of affairs, with the rank of general in

S

chief

1740. chief of all the forces by land and by sea. * All these ideas were by no means agreeable to those of the regent, who knew the marshal too well, and feared him too much, to raise him to a condition of hurting him, so that he granted him nothing of all he asked.

The marshal, finding himself disappointed of his hopes, changed sides. It was he that, on the part of the duke of Courland, had proposed to Prince Anthony Ulrick, for him to ask his dismissal. He had caused the memorial of the request to be drawn up by his own secretary; and as the regent often commissioned him to the Princess and her spouse upon affairs relative to them, this intercourse gave him occasion of speaking to him of the injustices of the regent.

Particularly, one time that Munich had brought some disagreeable message from the regent to the Princess, she complained bitterly of all the cruel uneasinesses given her, adding, That she would willingly leave Russia, and go with her husband and child to Germany; for, that so long as Biron should hold the reins of government, she had nothing to expect but misery.

The

* The project of marshal Munich had gone still farther in the life of the Empress. When he had entered with his army into Moldavia, even before he had made a conquest of that dutchy, he had proposed to the Empress to make him Hospodar of it; and if Russia had kept that province, it is probable this title would have been granted him. But having, after the preliminaries of the peace were signed, been obliged to return into the Ukraïn, he had set up another pretension, much more singular. He asked the title of duke of Ukraïn, and intimated his intention to the duke of Courland, when he addressed to him the request to be presented for him to the Empress. The duke, accordingly, gave it into the hands of the Empress, who said on it, "*Marschal Munich is rather too modest, I thought he would have asked the title of grand-duke of Muscovy.*" She made no more answer to this request, and there it dropped without farther mention.

1740.

The marshal, who only waited for an occasion to open himself to her, observed, in answer, That though it was true, that she had no good to hope from the regent, she ought not, however, to suffer herself to be cast down; and that if she would place a confidence in him, he would soon deliver her from the tyranny of the duke of Courland. The Princess, without hesitation, accepted his offers, leaving the whole direction of the affairs to the marshal. It was then concluded, that the regent should be seized and made prisoner, on the very first favourable occasion.

Mean while, the marshal continued to pay his court most assiduously to the regent, making shew of great attachment, and even of confidence to him. The duke, on his part, though he was not without his mistrust of Munich, treated him with the utmost politeness, kept him often to dinner, and, in the evenings, they would sometimes remain talking together till ten o'clock; nor were there but a few persons of confidence that were present at their conversations.

The day before the revolution, which happened on the 18th of November, marshal Munich dined with the duke, who desired him to come back in the evening, where they staid very late together, talking of many things relative to the current times. The duke was restless and thoughtful the whole evening, often changed the discourse; like an absent man; and abruptly, quite from the purpose; asked the marshal, ‘*If in his military expeditions he had ever undertaken any affair of consequence in the night.*’ This sudden question had nearly disconcerted the marshal, who imagined, upon it, that the duke had some suspicion of his project. Recovering himself, however, quick enough for the duke not to have observed his uneasiness, he answered, ‘*That he did not remember to have undertaken*

1740. 'any extraordinary things in the night-time; that he was not fond of night-work, but that his maxim was, to seize all occasions that appeared favourable to him.'

They parted at eleven at night; the marshal, in the resolution of not delaying his accomplishment of the regent's fall; and the regent, on his part, resolved to distrust all the world, to remove every person that could give him umbrage, and to fix himself more and more firmly in the sovereign power, by placing the Princess Elizabeth, or the duke of Holstein, on the throne; for he saw plainly, that without that he could never maintain his ground, the number of malecontents increasing every day. He would not, however, undertake any thing till after the interment and funeral obsequies of the late Empress. But his enemies prevented him.

Marshal Munich was persuaded that he should be the first person dismissed; so that he was determined to strike the blow without loss of time.

The duke
of Cour-
land seiz-
ed, and
confined.

When the marshal was returned from court, he told his aid-de-camp general, the lieutenant-colonel de Manstein, * That he should have occasion for his service the next day, very early in the morning. Accordingly, at two, after midnight, he sent for him. They both got into a coach together by themselves, and repaired to the winter-palace, where the Emperor and his father and mother were lodged after the death of the Empress. The marshal and his aid-de-camp entered the apartment of the Princess, by the door of the wardrobe. There he made mademoiselle Mengden, lady of honour, and favourite of the Princess, get up. When Munich had explained himself to her, she went in and waked their Highnesses; but it was the Princess alone that came out to him. They had but a moment's talk. The marshal ordered Manstein to call

1740.

call all the officers who were on guard at the palace, for the Princess to speak to them. These being come, her Highness represented in a few words to them the injuries which the regent made the Emperor, herself, and her husband suffer; adding, that as it was impossible, and even shameful, for her to endure such insults any longer, she was resolved to have him apprehended, and had given marshal Munich the commission of it; so that she hoped that the officers would be so good as to follow all his orders, and assist him to the best of their power. The officers made not the least difficulty of obeying the Princess in whatever she required of them; upon which, giving them her hand to kiss, and embracing them all, they went down the stairs with the marshal, and got the guard under arms.

Count Munich told the soldiers what was in agitation; and all with one accord, answered him, That they were ready to follow him wherever he would lead them. They were ordered to load their muskets, and an officer with forty men were left on guard with the colours. The other eighty marched with the marshal to the summer-palace, where the regent still resided.

About two hundred paces from this house, this troop halted, and the marshal sent Manstein to the officers of the regent's guard, to acquaint them of the Princess Anne's intention: they made no more difficulty than the others had done, and even offered their assistance to seize the duke, if it was necessary.

Upon this, the marshal told the same lieutenant-colonel Manstein, to put himself, with an officer, at the head of twenty men, to enter the palace, to seize the duke; and in case of his making any the least resistance, to massacre him without mercy.

Manstein entered the palace; and not to make too much noise, he made the detachment follow him at a distance. All the centinels suffered him to pass in without any opposition; for, as he was personally

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personally known to all the soldiers, they imagined he might be sent to the duke upon some affair of consequence, so that he crossed the guards, and got as far as the apartments, without any difficulty. But as he did not know the particular room in which the duke lay, he was all on a sudden extremely embarrassed where to go, so as to avoid all noise and suspicion, neither would he ask any one the question, though he met with some servants who were waiting in the anti-chamber. After some moments meditation, he resolved to keep advancing through the apartments, in the hope he should at length find out the apartment he was seeking. And so it happened in fact; for, after he had gone through two chambers, he was come to a door that was locked; luckily for him, this was a folding door, and the servants had neglected to fasten it, by sliding the bolts at the top and bottom, so that he easily forced it open. In the chamber he found a great bed, in which the duke and duchess were lying, buried in a profound sleep. Not even the noise he had made in forcing open the door had waked them. Manstein, having got close to the bed, drew the curtains, and desired to speak with the regent. Upon this, both started up in a surprize, and began to cry out aloud, judging rightly enough that he was not come to bring them any good news. Manstein happening to stand on the side on which the duchess lay, the regent threw himself out of bed, on the ground, certainly with an intention to hide himself under the bed; but this officer springing quickly round to the other side, threw himself upon him, and held him fast embraced till the guards came in. The duke having at length got upon his legs again, and wanting to disengage himself from their hold, distributed blows with his double fist to the right and left; to which the soldiers made no return but with strokes from the but-end of their muskets; and throwing him down again on the floor, they crammed

med a handkerchief into his mouth, and bound his hands with an officer's sash; then they led him, naked, as he was, to the guard-room, where they covered him with a soldier's cloak, and put him into a coach of the marshal's, that was waiting for him. An officer was placed in it by the side of him, and he was carried to the winter palace.

While the soldiers were struggling with the duke, the duchess was got out of bed in her shift, and, running after him as far as into the street, when a soldier took her in his arms, and asked Manstein, what he should do with her. He bid him carry her back to her chamber; but the soldier not caring, it seems, to take the trouble of it, threw her down on the ground, in the midst of the snow, and there left her. The captain of the guard, finding her in this piteous condition, made her clothes be brought to her, and reconducted her to the apartments she had always occupied.

As soon as the duke was thus on the way to the winter-palace, the same colonel, Manstein, was sent to seize his younger brother, Gustavus Biron, who was then at Petersburg. He was lieutenant-colonel of the Ishmaelow regiment of guards. But this expedition required somewhat more of precautionary measures than the first; for Gustavus Biron was beloved in his regiment, and had a guard of it in his house, consisting of a serjeant and twelve men. And, accordingly, the centinels made at first some resistance, but they were soon laid hold of, and threatened with death if they made the least noise. After which, Manstein went into the bed-chamber of Biron, and made him get up, telling him, that he had an affair of great consequence to impart to him. Having then drawn him to the window, he acquainted him with his orders of arrest. Biron wanted to open the window, and began to cry out; but he was instantly let to know that the duke was seized, and under confinement, and that himself would

1740. would be killed on the least resistance. The soldiers, who had waited in the adjoining room, came in directly, and satisfied him that there was nothing for him but to obey. They gave him a furred cloak, put him into a sledge, and he too was carried to the winter-palace.

At the same time colonel Koningsfelt, one of the adjutants of the marshal, who had joined him when he was returning with the duke, was sent back to apprehend count Bestucheff.

As for the duke, he was put into the room of the officers of the guard. His brother and count Bestucheff had each a separate room, where they remained till four o'clock in the afternoon, till the duke, with all his family, (except his eldest son, who was then sick, and who staid till his recovery at Petersburgh) were carried to the fort of Schluiselburgh. The other two prisoners were sent to places at a small distance from the capital, where they were kept till after their examination.

New arrangements of the regency.

As soon as the duke was seized, order was sent to all the regiments that happened to be then at Petersburgh, to be put under arms, and to assemble round the palace. The Princess Anne then declared herself Grand-Duchess of Russia, and regent of the empire during the minority of the Emperor. She at the same time put on the collar of the order of St. Andrew, and every one took a new oath of fidelity, in which the Grand-Duchess was mentioned by name, which had not been done in that imposed by the regent. There were none that did not make great demonstrations of joy, at seeing themselves delivered from the tyranny of Biron; and from that moment every thing was quiet. Even the piquets were taken away, which the duke of Courland had posted in the streets to prevent commotions during his regency; and yet there were some, who, at the very moment of that event, prognosticated

prognosticated that it would not be the last revolution; and that those who had been the most active in bringing this about, would be the first that would be overset by another. Time has shewn that they were not in the wrong,

The Grand-Duchess dispatched also, on the same day, orders for apprehending the generals Bismark and Charles Biron; the first was nearly allied to the duke, having married his wife's sister, and was, at that time, at Riga, in quality of vice governor of that place: the other was elder brother to the duke, and commandant in chief at Moscow. He had been the greatest enemy to his brother during his prosperity; notwithstanding which, he was involved in his disgrace.

The duke of Courland, who, as I have before mentioned, was not without suspicion that something of this kind would be attempted against him, had given strict charge to the officers of the guard, not to suffer any one to enter into the palace after his retiring to rest. The centinels had orders to stop whoever should then come, and to kill any one that should make resistance. A piquet of one officer and forty men was placed in the gardens under the windows of the regent, besides centinels posted all round the palace; notwithstanding which precautions, he could not avoid his fate.

I was intimately well acquainted with the person who was principally employed in this affair, and who owned to me since, that he could not conceive how it was possible that the attempt met with no more difficulty than it did, for, according to the arrangements taken, the affair ought, naturally speaking, to have miscarried. A single centinel's making a noise would have hindered every thing. It is even astonishing that count Munich and his aid-de-camp general were suffered to enter so much as the winter-palace, where the Princess Anne then was;

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was ; for, in the night-time, there was always a piquet posted there, and centinels all round, who had orders to hinder any one whatsoever from going in. True it is, that the marshal chose, for seizing the duke, the day that the regiment of which he was lieutenant-colonel was to be on duty, both at the young Emperor's and the regent's ; to every soldier of which the marshals aid-de-camp general was also known ; but notwithstanding this, if one single man had done his duty he must have failed. It is this negligence of the guards, to which no remedy was applied in the time of the Grand-Duchess, that facilitated the revolution which the Grand-Duchess undertook the year after.

It would have been easier to apprehend the duke in broad day, for he often paid a visit to the Princess, unaccompanied but by a single gentleman. Count Munich, or even any other officer of confidence, needed only to have waited in the anti-chamber of the Princess, and to have pronounced the arrest to him as he came out of her apartments ; but the marshal, who liked that all his enterprises should carry with them something striking, had preferred the most difficult means.

Rewards
and pro-
motions.

On the 22d of November, the Grand-Duchess bestowed several gratifications, and made many promotions.

The Prince her husband, was declared generalissimo of all the forces of Russia, as well by land as by sea ;

Count Munich had the post of prime-minister ;

Count Osterman that of high-admiral, which had been many years vacant ;

The Prince Czerkasky was appointed high-chancellor, a post that had not been filled since the death of count Golloskin ;

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The count Golloskin, son of the high-chancellor, deceased, was made vice-chancellor.

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Several others had great recompences in ready-money, or in lands. All the officers and subalterns, who had been employed in apprehending the duke, were promoted. Lieutenant-colonel Manstein had a regiment, and some fine lands, which were taken from him again when the Empress Elizabeth mounted the throne. The soldiers of the guard received their gratifications in money.

Marshal Munich had not thus worked the duke's fall, but in order to raise himself to the highest degree of fortune; he had retained the same views as when he persuaded the duke to make himself regent; that is to say, to draw to himself the whole power, to leave to the duchess nothing but the title of regent, and himself to do all the functions of it; imagining now to himself, that no one would dare to undertake any the least thing against him. He was mistaken.

The very same day that the Princess Anne declared herself Grand-Duchess and regent, he met with a refusal that greatly mortified him. Having given the Princess to understand, that he hoped to be appointed generalissimo; her answer was, That this post could suit no one but her husband, as father of the Emperor. Upon this, Munich had a mind to ask once more the sovereignty of the Ukraine, with the title of duke; but his son, with many entreaties, dissuaded him from it. At length, he determined himself for the post of prime minister, and, by that step, greatly shocked count Osterman, who till then had had the sole direction of the affairs of the ministry; and as he had never been a friend of Munich's, he began from that moment to labour his ruin.

The boundless ambition of the marshal soon gave the count Osterman a fair occasion of doing him an ill!

1740. ill office. Munich had, in drawing up the declaration by which Prince Anthony Ulrick was named generalissimo, inserted specifically the following words :

‘ That though the marshal, count Munich, after the great services he had done to the state, might have pretended to the post of generalissimo, he had nevertheless desisted therefrom, in favour of Prince Anthony Ulrick, father of the Emperor, and contented himself with the place of prime minister.’

Count Osterman did not fail of taking up these expressions ; and made the Prince sensible of all the haughtiness contained in them. This produced the first animosity against Munich, who, on his part, contributed much to keep it up, by the want of due deferences in all his conduct to the Prince, and yet the Prince was the father of his Emperor.

The first complaints of the Prince against him were, about his manner of writing to him, for there is, in Russia, a set formulary, which inferiors are obliged to employ in every thing that relates to the service, when they write to superiors ; the marshal neglected this, using, when he wrote to the generalissimo, no other than the common epistolary style.

He communicated to him no affair of consequence, though the Princess had often ordered it ; but when there were any trifles to be dispatched, such as promotions of the subaltern officers of the army, then, indeed, count Munich never failed of acquainting the Prince.

But as the Prince had, every evening, conferences of several hours, with count Osterman, the count exhorted him to complain to the Grand-Duchess of Munich’s treatment. This he readily did, and Munich had orders to confer with the generalissimo upon all affairs ; and in

in writing to him, to make use of the established formulary. This was a great mortification, but soon after, he had greater yet to undergo, and the more vexatious, as they were of more consequence.

Count Osterman, who, in the time of the Empress Anne, had not stirred out of his room for some years, made himself now often be carried in a chair to the duchess's, with whom he had several conferences, in which he insinuated to her, That the prime minister was not acquainted with foreign affairs, of which he (Osterman) had had the direction for twenty years; that, consequently, he might, through his ignorance, engage the court into steps that would be very prejudicial to the Empire; that, for his own part, he should be glad to inform him of every thing, but that the condition of his infirmity hindered him from waiting on him.

He added, That neither did the marshal know any thing of the inward domestic affairs of the Empire, having been always employed in the war-department. Upon these frequently reiterated representations, the Grand-Duchess resolved to restore the direction of the foreign affairs to Osterman, and to give Golloskin charge of the internal administration of the Empire; so that there remained nothing to count Munich with the title of prime minister, but solely the war-department.

Piqued at this to the quick, he desired leave to resign every thing, and retire. The Grand-Duchess made some difficulties of granting it, saying, She could not do without his counsels. Count Munich, really believing that his dismissal would never be granted, insisted on retiring, if the direction of all affairs was not restored to him on the same footing as in the first months of the regency. Upon which he was dismissed, with thanks for all his services, in
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1740. the very time that he thought of establishing his power on firmer ground than ever.

This thunderstruck him : recollecting his spirits, however, after a few moments reflection, he put a good face on it, thanked the Grand Duchess for the favor she did him, and, in a few days, retired to his palace on the other side of the Newa, having, while he was prime minister, occupied the same house, which is very near the court, that he had been obliged to quit eight years before, when the duke of Courland made him dislodge. By the bye, this house has been ominous to the family of Munich ; for his son, who lodged in it after him, was seized there the very next year, when the Empress Elizabeth ascended the throne.

What greatly contributed to the granting Munich leave of resignation, was the information of the duke of Courland, who, on his examination, declared,

‘ That he never would have accepted the regency, if count Munich had not used such force of persuasion to him ; that he had gone so far as even to offer to throw himself at his feet ; that he advised the Grand-Duchess not to trust him, as being the most dangerous man she had in her whole empire ; and that if her Highness was to refuse him any the least thing he asked, she ought not to think herself secure on her throne.’

The Princess, naturally timid, was extremely perplexed ; the Prince her husband, and count Osterman, seized this moment to determine her to dismiss him. Others would have had her gone farther, and sent him to Siberia, and would have prevailed for it too, if it had not been for Mademoiselle de Mengden, favourite of the Grand-Duchess, who interceded for him.

In

1740.

In the mean while, the horse-guard was doubled at the palace, and frequently patrolled the streets, day and night. The marshal had spies set upon him, who followed him every where, and watched the least action or step of his. The Prince and Princess did not sleep in their usual bed, but changed apartments every night, till the marshal Munich had removed to his palace over the Newa, being every moment afraid of a new revolution.

The Grand-Duchess continued to marshal Munich an annual pension of fifteen thousand rubles, or thirty thousand German florins, which, together with the great estates he possessed in several places in Russia and in Germany, made up a revenue to him of seventy thousand rubles, or a hundred and forty thousand florins (about 14,000*l*.)

The regiment of cuirassiers, which he had, was given to count Lowendahl, but always continued to bear the name of Munich, till the Empress Elizabeth's accession to the throne.

It was in the month of March, 1741, that the marshal was forbid the court. In the preceding month of December, he had had a fit of illness, which, it was generally imagined, would carry him off. The Grand-Duchess, one day, said, 'That it would be happy for him to die of it, as he would then end his days in the fulness of glory, and in a time when he was raised to as great a height as any subject could think of attaining.' This made it judged that the court would soon be comforted for the loss of him, and that even the Grand-Duchess was jealous of his power.

A few days after the revolution, the Grand-Duchess caused an edict to be published, by which it was ordered to give the Prince her husband, as father of the Emperor, the title of his Imperial Highness.

Prince Ar-
thony Ul-
rick re-
ceives the
title of Im-
perial High-
ness.

1740. Highness. A little while after that, he was declared co-regent.

Interment of the Empress. The arrangements for the interment and funeral obsequies of the Empress could not be finished before the latter end of December. At length, every thing being ready, she was interred in the church that is within the citadel of Petersburg, with all the ceremony and pomp imaginable.

1741. Trial of Biron, &c. It has been above set forth, that the duke of Courland was, on the same day that he was seized, transferred to Schluisselburgh. A commission, composed of several senators, proceeded there on his trial, and condemned him to death. He had his pardon. The Princess Anne had, from the first moment of the revolution, resolved to banish him to Siberia. An engineer had been sent there to direct the building of a house, expressly designed for his prison. Marshal Munich gave the first sketch of it with a pencil; little then imagining that it was for himself he was planning.

In the month of May, the duke of Courland was, with his family, transferred from Schluisselburgh to his new habitation.

Already, some months before, his brothers and general Bismark had been sent to different places in Siberia.

Fruitless negotiations of the marquis de Botta. The marquis de Botta had been recalled from Petersburg, a few months before the death of the Empress, and sent to the court of Berlin. He was sent back to Russia, after that the Grand-Duchess was declared regent, and strenuously pressed this Princess to succour the Queen of Hungary. But there were many reasons that hindered the march of the troops, of which several regiments had already had orders to leave their quarters, and take their route towards Riga.

On

On one hand, the diet extraordinary convened in Sweden towards the end of the preceding year, gave room for apprehending the result of it would be a declaration of war against Russia. 1741.

On the other, the King of Poland, who was on the point of declaring himself against the house of Austria, caused a solemn protest to be made, in the name of the republic, against the passage of the troops that Russia might send to Silesia: and the count de Lynar, who was the minister of Saxony, knew too well how to avail himself of the terms of favour on which he stood with the Grand-Duchess and her favourite, not to thwart every thing that might be contrary to the interests of his master.

The court of Petersburg had not failed to notify Prince to the states of Courland that their duke was seized; that he had had his trial, and been found guilty of high-treason; that he and all his family were sent to Siberia, where they were to pass the remainder of their lives. Prince Lewis of Brunswick is elected duke of Courland.

Russia, at the same time, took possession of several baily wicks, or districts, to which the government set up claims. These districts had been mortgaged by the dukes, predecessors of Biron. Even Peter I. had lent to duke Frederick, husband to the late Empress Anne, five hundred thousand rubles upon certain districts; others had been mortgaged to private individuals. Biron had cleared them all off: the Empress had made him a present of the debt owing to Russia; and by the liberalities he received from time to time from that Princess, he was enabled to pay off the rest: so that the court of Petersburg, alledging it to have been Russian money that was thus applied, sequestered them.

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1741.

The Courland nobility was then exhorted to proceed to the election of a new duke; and the Grand-Duchess gave them to understand, that if their choice fell on Prince Lewis of Brunswick, her husband's brother, it would be the most agreeable to the regent, and that they might depend on the protection of Russia.

The count of Saxe, natural son to the king of Poland, Augustus II. put in also specious pretensions to Courland. He had been already unanimously elected by the whole nobility in 1727. So early, then, as the month of February, he sent the baron Dieskaw to Petersburg, to solicit his affair, who met with nothing but refusals; and Dieskaw set out on his return thence, about the time that Prince Lewis was to arrive at Mittaw.

On the 23d of June, the nobility assembled there, proceeded to the election, when baron Dieskaw, who was by this time got to Mittaw, interrupted it, by a solemn protest, which he personally entered, *viva voce*, in the name of the count of Saxe. He added a kind of manifesto, of which he distributed a number of copies. But this did not hinder the Prince Lewis from being elected by the whole nobility, who stood too much in fear of the Russians, to pay any regard to the rights of the count of Saxe.

This affair could not, however, be terminated: the republic of Poland protested against this election, undertaken without its participation. Prince Lewis could not obtain the investiture from the King, and the revolution that happened some months after annulled every thing.

In the beginning of July, Prince Lewis arrived at Petersburg, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of tenderness and friendship. He was immediately lodged in the summer-palace, and

and served by the officers of the court. In a little while afterwards, he had an apartment given him in the winter-palace.

1741.

This prince presently gained the heart of every one, by the affable and engaging manner with which he treated all those who approached him; it was judged that it would be a happiness for the Courlanders to have him for their duke.

The project of the Grand-Duchess and her ministry, in sending for Prince Lewis to Petersburg, was, to make a match between him and the Princess Elizabeth, as soon as he should be acknowledged duke of Courland. The Princess made some difficulties; but she would, at length, have been obliged to marry him, if she had not taken other measures.

It was also in this month of July, that the Turk-^{Turkish} ish ambassador arrived at Petersburg. The ^{embassy.} court had, for a long time, caused his journey to be retarded, in order to gain previous information of the manner in which the Russian ambassador would be received at Constantinople, that they might regulate their conduct accordingly. And when the satisfactory advice for which they had waited was received, the Turkish ambassador made his public entry into Petersburg on horseback. He was treated with great distinction.

It had been stipulated at the peace of Belgrade, that the ambassador of Russia should be received at Constantinople with the same distinction and the same ceremonial as were observed towards the ambassador of the Emperor of the Romans (of Germany), a thing that had not been hitherto practised. And, accordingly, on this occasion, the court of Petersburg employed all imaginable magnificence to render it suitably splendid.

1741.
Persian
embassy.

A little while afterwards, there arrived at Peterburgh alio a Persian ambassador. This was perhaps the most extraordinary embassy that ever was seen. Thomas Kooley Khawn, (Schach Nadir) after his conquest of the Mogulistan, had, in the beginning of the year 1740, sent a notification of his victories to the Empress, by an ambassador, at the head of a retinue of sixteen thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. The court had timely advice of this, and sent a body of troops towards Astracan, to form a camp there, on the frontiers of Persia.

When the ambassador was come near to the river of Kislar, major general Apraxin, who commanded five regiments of foot, and six of dragoons, sent to meet him, and to acquaint him, that as he had a great desert to cross to go from Astracan to Moscow, it would be impossible to furnish him with provisions and forage; so that he desired him to take at most two thousand persons with him, and to leave the rest behind.

This representation stopped short the ambassador. He sent thereon a courier to his master, who ordered him to settle with the Russian commissaries the number of persons that should accompany him to court, where he could not arrive till July 1741. He made his entry also on horseback; and it was at once one of the most magnificent and most extraordinary ones. His retinue consisted of two thousand men, and of fourteen elephants, which the Schach sent as a present to the Emperor, and to the principal lords of Russia. The other presents were also considerable.

The ambassador said, in the harangues which he made to the Grand-Duchess on the day of his audience, that his master was willing to share the spoils of the Mogul with so good an ally as the Emperor of Russia. There was a considerable quantity

1741. tity of large diamonds, and precious stones, but not polished.

Some of the Russian ministers had been afraid that the designs of the Schach Nadir, in sending so numerous an embassy, was, to seize the kingdom of Astracan, and even to make greater conquests, if they had found the Russians off their guard. But the true design, and which will immediately appear but little compatible with the others, was, to ask the Princess Elizabeth, since Empress, in marriage with Schach Nadir, who must have even offered to introduce the Christian religion into his whole dominions.* The regent would have been glad to have concluded this match, but judging the step rather too violent, she refused him. The ambassador was a near relation of Schach Nadir, and master of horse to him.

Hitherto the French ambassador had not as yet Audience had his audience. He would not deliver his credentials to the Grand-Duchess, unless in presence of of Mons. de la Chetardie. the Emperor himself; and as in Russia the children of sovereigns are never shewn in public till after they are passed the first year, this created a difficulty on both sides. At length, La Chetardie, waving the character of ambassador, had a private audience of the Grand-Duchess in the Emperor's apartment.

Every thing was quiet in the empire; and, in-Conduct deed, no one had any cause of complaint, Russia of the never having been governed with more mild-regent. ness than in the year of the Grand-Duchess's regency. She took a pleasure in conferring favours, and was an enemy to all severity. She might have been happy, if her conduct in her domestic interior had been as good as that she ob-

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served

* This will not sound incredible to those who consider, that by his own authority, he changed the Persian sect of religion for the Turkish; and often talked of giving to his dominions a religion of his own framing.

1741. observed towards the public ; and if she would have made more use of the advice of persons of sense, and attached herself less to her favorite.

Mademoiselle Juliana de Mengden had had nothing better than the common education given in Livonia to young gentlewomen bred in the country, who are generally designed to be married to some good plain country gentleman, and to superintend the œconomy of his lands.

As in the time of the Empress Anne, there was a kind of preference shewn to the Livonian young women for maids of honour, and that the family of baron Mengden, which was, moreover, one of the most ancient in the country, were in great credit with the duke of Courland, three sisters of them came to court at once ; the eldest, named Dorothea, was married to count Munich, son of the marshal ; the second, Juliana, was that favorite of the duchess, whom I have just mentioned, and of whom I shall, in the sequel, have occasion to speak much more ; the third, Jacobina, followed, together with the favourite, the Grand-Duchess into exile ; a fourth sister, named Aurora, was also placed at court in the time of the regent : she afterwards married the count of Lestock, and was involved in his misfortune.

It will easily be conceived, that these ladies knew but little of the world, and could have nothing of that kind of spirit fit for the cabals of a court : nor, indeed, did three of them at all concern themselves with them. But Juliana, favorite of a regent, who was mother to the Emperor, took it into her head to intermeddle in affairs ; or rather, as she was naturally indolent, found means to inspire that vice into her mistress. The Princess often suffered the most important affairs to languish ; she would remain for several days together shut up in her chamber, without seeing but

1741.

as few as she possibly could, and without any other dress than a petticoat and a short cloke, with a nightcap made of a handkerchief. None were admitted to see the Princess but only such as were friends or relations to the favorite, or some of the foreign ministers, who were invited to make up a party at cards with the Grand-Duchess. So odd a conduct could not but hurt the great men of the empire. The Prince Anthony Ulrick saw, with concern, the ascendant that mademoiselle Mengden had over his spouse. He made representations to her on that head, which availed nothing, and only produced frequent jarings between them, and gave the Princess Elizabeth time to carry on at her ease the necessary cabals for setting herself on the throne.

There were often great misunderstandings between the Princess regent and the Prince, which lasted whole weeks, and the favorite, instead of endeavouring to reconcile them, had the imprudence to inflame the Grand-Duchess the more against her husband. This Princess too employed her thoughts much more on the settling to her satisfaction her favorite, than on the affairs of the empire. She wanted to marry her to count Lynar, minister of the King of Poland; the espousals were made, and soon after count Lynar set out for Saxony, where he proposed to regulate his affairs first, and afterwards to conclude the marriage. He was to enter into the service of Russia in quality of high-chamberlain. Happily for him he was not returned when the Empress Elizabeth assumed the crown.

The Grand-duchess had made her favorite a present of considerable lands in Livonia, and of the house in which Gustavus Biron had lived.

There was no more harmony among the ministers of the cabinet than between the Prince and Princess.

1741.
Discord-
ance
among the
ministers.

Count Osterman, who had the most contributed to the removal of Munich, because he was jealous of his power of prime minister, found a new rival in the count Gollofkin, vice-chancellor of the empire, who could not see, without envy, Prince Anthony Ulrick giving wholly his attention to count Osterman, following no counsels but his, and receiving no information on affairs but from him.

To counterbalance him, he attached himself solely to the Grand-Duchess, and entirely captivated her confidence. She made several affairs of the greatest consequence be dispatched by count Gollofkin, without acquainting either her husband or Osterman. It was also this count who first advised the Grand Duchess to declare herself Empress; but this project, of which I shall speak in another place, was never executed, on account of the revolution.

Prepara-
tions of
war a-
gainst
Sweden.

While all these matters were passing in Russia, the diet extraordinary continued its sessions at Stockholm, and all advices from thence were full of nothing but of an approaching rupture with Russia.

It was a long while first before Russia could believe that Sweden would declare war. France had offered her mediation the preceding year, and both parties had accepted it; so that the court of Russia flattered itself that the Swedes would, at the end of the diet, make some proposals; and count Osterman was even of opinion in that case, for giving up the town of Kexholm and its districts.

For Peter I. had already consented to a cession of that place, with its territory, to the Swedes, if they should absolutely insist on having back some part of Finland that was conquered from them. In time, the Swedes preferred war to negotiations.

Monf.

1741. Monf. de Nolcken, their minifter at Petersburgh, left it in the month of July, alledging for a pretext, his domeftic affairs calling him to Pomerania, where he poffeffed lands. At that time it was already known at court, that war was refolved on in Sweden, and that, confequently, Nolcken would not return.

As Sweden was rent by various factions, count Bestucheff, minifter of Ruffia, at Stockholm, found no great difficulty to be informed of every thing that was tranfacted in the diet. He knew all their refolutions as well as if he had been of the fecret committee. And it was on the advices the court had received from him, that the Grand-Duchefs fent for the generals Lacy and Keith to Petersburgh. Councils of war were frequently held, and it was refolved to afsemble, for that campaign, the troops to be formed into different bodies, of which the moft confiderable was to be under the orders of marfhal Lacy and of general Keith, in Finland, and to act offenfively, as foon as they fhould learn that a declaration of war was made. The fecond, which was to be commanded by the Prince of Hefle-Hombourg, was to ftay in Ingria: his camp was marked out near a place called Krafna Gorka (the red mountain) at about fix or feven miles from Petersburgh, to hinder the defcents that the enemy might attempt. It was alfo decided, that there fhould be other fmall bodies of troops afsembled in Livonia and Eftthonia, which were all of them to be under the orders of Lowendahl, to cover the coafts of that country: For the Ruffian fleet was in fo bad a condition, that it could not be got out of the ports that year.

The 22d July, the firft camp was begun to be formed, under the orders of general Keith, four miles off Petersburgh, on the fide of Wybourg,
near

1741. near a village called Ossinoua Rostchtsche. It consisted of five regiments of foot, three of dragoons, and some independent companies of grenadiers.

July 26, The generalissimo, accompanied by his brother, Prince Lewis, and marshal Lacy, came there to review these troops.

Birth of
the Prin-
cess Ca-
therine.

While they were seeing the exercise of the dragoons, they heard the cannon of Petersburg fire, which was for the happy delivery of the Grand-Duchess of a daughter, who was named Catherine; upon which the Prince and all his retinue returned immediately to Petersburg.

Keith, with the body of troops under his command, advanced to within eight miles of Wybourg, near a village called Moola Muisa; and as, just by that village, the roads divide, and that one may march to it along the sea-shore, turn Wybourg, and penetrate as far as Petersburg, he caused a strong retrenchment to be made there.

This body of troops, which had, by the 6th of August, arrived at Moola Muisa, staid there till the 25th of that month.

Declara-
tion of
war
against
Sweden.

August 24, Being the Emperor's birth day, Keith put the troops under arms, and caused the declaration of war against Sweden to be proclaimed; they received it with great demonstrations of joy. The general made a short harangue at the head of each battalion, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and to endeavour, not only to preserve the glory which the Russian arms had already acquired, but to augment it.

Observa-
tions on
the con-
duct of
the
Swedes.

But before I enter on the operations of the Russian army, it will be proper to give some idea of the previous conduct of the Swedes.

I have already mentioned the political schism of Sweden, and that the party, called *the Hats*, was for the war, and that ever since the year 1737, they

they had been laboring to bring it on; but that, instead of declaring it at a time in which Russia was engaged with other powers, and its forces were at a great distance from the frontiers of Sweden, they remained with their arms across, leaving the Russians to make a peace; nor broke with them, till Russia was enjoying, on all sides, a profound tranquillity. All the rest of the Swedish measures were no better taken. On the eve of declaring a war against a nation, much more powerful than Sweden, they had but few troops in Finland, where the theatre of the war was to be; they had no magazines, nor provisions enough in their whole country to form any; consequently, even the troops, maintained for the guard of Finland, could not be assembled in one camp

Several well-intentioned persons, who had the honour of their country at heart, represented these difficulties to the diet; but as they were of the *Night-cap* party, their advices were rejected.

Lieutenant-general Buddenbrog was, however, sent to Finland, to examine every thing upon the spot. He, who desired nothing so much as war, instead of the truth, gave report, That every thing was in a very good condition; that the troops might be assembled without delay; and that there were provisions sufficient.

On the other hand, France, whose interest it was that Russia should not take part in the war which she and her allies were carrying on against the house of Austria, had made great remittances of money to Sweden, and did not fail of exhorting the nation to declare the war.

In short, the *Hats* were so persuaded that the Russian army had been entirely ruined by the campaigns against the Turks, and that all the regiments were only patched up with raw recruits, that they declared

1741.

1741. declared every where, that one Swede was enough to drive ten Russians before him; and that their army, to be victorious, would have nothing to do, but to shew itself.

The senate had taken some precautions that this news should not reach the court of Petersburg but as late as possible, to give the more time to general Buddenbrog to make some arrangements for assembling his troops, and to count Lewenhaupt (who, from marshal of the diet, had been chosen commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed against Russia) to repair to the army; so that all the posts were forbidden to go out, or any courier or express. Orders had also been given at all the seaports, not to suffer any vessel to sail; only one Courlander, that was at anchor in the road of Sandham when the declaration of war was published, slipped away, and carried the news to Libau, whence it was immediately sent to court, who thus got information of it fifteen days after the declaration had been made at Stockholm.

General Keith had orders, upon this, as I have before related, to proclaim the war at the head of the troops under his command, and to draw near to the frontiers.

Sweden had alledged many reasons that incited her to this war: the principal were, ‘*The assassination of Sinclair; — the Russian prohibition of exports of grain from Livonia; — the exclusion of the Princess Elizabeth, and of the duke of Holstein, from the throne of Russia; — and the power that the foreigners in Russia had usurped over the nation.*’

Com-
mence-
ment of
hostilities.

I return now to the military operations. General Keith, the very next day after the publication of the war, marched with the regiments under his orders.

August

August 26, The troops went through the town of Wybourg, and encamped on the bridge of Abow. Major-general Uxkul was detached with a thousand dragoons to approach the frontiers of Sweden, and to get news of the enemy.

The regiments were ordered to take bread for fifteen days from the magazines of Wybourg. Six regiments of foot, who had encamped under that place, and who had worked at the fortifications, joined the body of troops under general Keith; as did general Stoffeln and major-general Fermer, who had commanded there. Major-general Schipow was appointed commandant of the town, and was left with the usual garrison of three regiments of foot.

August 28, This body of an army began its march, and drew near to the frontiers; but the ground being extremely uneven in those parts, the troops could not find room enough for one camp to contain them, so that the dragoons and a part of the infantry encamped at a village called Cananoia, a league from the frontiers, and the rest about half a league behind.

The same night, a Swedish subaltern officer (accompanied by a drum) having some letters to deliver, came so near an advanced guard as to be within pistol-shot, and not having beat the call till he was just upon the centinels; these, who could not distinguish objects, and were afraid of a surprise, imagining that it might be a party of the enemy, fired, and killed the subaltern's horse; upon which the officer got off the ground as fast as he could, with his drum, and without delivering his letters.

August 31, Marshal Lacy arrived at the army, and took the command of it.

It

1741.

It was learnt from some deserters, that the garrison of Wilmanstrand did not consist of above five or six hundred men; that the Swedes had not as yet assembled above two bodies each of four thousand men; the first under the orders of major-general Wrangel, encamping about three Swedish miles from Wilmanstrand; and the other under general Buddenbrog, about six: that the other troops were in march, and that some regiments were scarce come out of quarters; that a part of those transported from Sweden were not as yet landed, so that the whole of the enemy's army could not be assembled within three weeks more; that count Lewenhaupt was still in Sweden, and was not likely to come soon to the army.

These informations were confirmed by several spies, who might the more easily gain certain intelligence, for their being inhabitants of Wybourg, as they had friends and relations in all the towns of Swedish Finland.

Marshal Lacy, with a view to make his advantage of the unpreparedness of the enemy, resolved to enter into Swedish Finland, and seize on the town of Wilmanstrand; for this purpose he assembled the chief officers of the regiments, and gave them himself their orders.

The Russians enter into Swedish Finland.

September 1, At break of day, the army began its march. All the baggage and tents remained in the camp. The soldiers took bread with them for five days. Two field-officers were left in command of the camp; for the guard of which, each regiment furnished three of its officers, and a hundred of its men; and every brigade a captain. The regiment of Nitschegorod, who should that day have joined the army, had also orders to remain in the camp, on guard of the baggage.

The army could only march in one column. For in that country there is no practicable way but the

the high road. On each side there are thick woods, marshes, and rocks. In all Finland there is scarce a plain to be found large enough to encamp four regiments in front.

The army made a march of two Swedish miles in the enemies country, without seeing any one but a few peasants, who escaped into the woods as soon as they perceived the Russian vanguard, and ran to carry to Wilmanstrand the first news of the approach of the enemies.

Towards night-fall, the army marched in three lines along the high road; the dragoons close to the wood on one side of the road, and the infantry in two lines behind them, without more interval than of about thirty or forty paces. The troops lay on their arms.

At eleven at night, there was a great alarm. Co-False
lonel Wilbrand, commandant of Wilmanstrand, alarm.
having learned the march of the Russians, had detached four men, who, under favour of the night, and of the wood, were to get as near as possible to the enemy's army, and to reconnoitre it. One of the centinels, of the advanced guard in the wood, having perceived them, fired upon them. Scarce had the piece gone off, before some regiments of the second line started up all on a sudden, stood to their arms, and as if they had been all in concert, began to pour a most brisk fire upon the first line, without its being possible, for half an hour together, to make them cease; some cannon were even fired. The regiments that lay in their way had an officer and seventeen men killed and wounded.

The generals Lacy and Keith ran a great risque of being killed in this false alarm: they had small tents pitched for them to lie in between the lines, which several balls had gone quite through.

About

1741.

1741.

About two hundred of the dragoons horses, taking fright at the fire, broke loose from the piquets, and ran away on the high road to Wilmanstrand. An advanced guard of the Swedes, that was posted about half a Swedish mile from the Russians, hearing this fire, and, at the same time the noise of the trampling of the horses that were coming strait towards them, imagining it might be a detachment of the enemy, fled full speed to town; the horses following them so close, that they entered it pell-mell, with the Swedish guards, before the bridge could be drawn up.

It was by this false alarm that general Wrangel had the first notice of the approach of the Russians, on hearing the fire in the night-time. Imagining that Wilmanstrand was attacked, he immediately sent advice of it to general Buddenbrog, and, by break of day, got under march to come to the relief of the town.

September 2, The army resumed its march as soon as it was day. After having proceeded about a French league, they came to a small river, which it was necessary to pass. The bottom of it was muddy; and the Swedes had broke down the bridge upon the last night's alarm. Here they were obliged to halt some hours, till the bridge was refitted. This much retarded their march.

Colonel Rezanof, with the regiment of Kiow dragoons, was ordered to guard this pass, and the army resumed its march.

Towards noon, a detachment of a hundred of the enemies dragoons approached the Russian vanguard, and could not retreat so quick as to escape an attack, and the having a prisoner taken.

About

About four in the afternoon, the army arrived under Wilmanstrand, and took post about a quarter of a mile from the town, near a small village called Armila.

1741.

Marshal Lacy and general Keith proceeded directly to reconnoitre the town, under the escort of a battalion of foot, and of two hundred grenadiers, on horseback. They approached to within a good musket-shot of the covered-way. Scarce were the generals returned to the camp, before they had notice that a body of the enemy, of some thousands of men, were arrived near the town. The marshal instantly caused all his troops to advance, and posted them on eminences opposite to the Swedes. An engagement would have ensued that very evening, if night coming on had not prevented it. The Russians returned into their camp near Armila, and the troops lay again under arms.

But, before I proceed in this relation, it is necessary I should give an idea of what the town of Wilmanstrand was, and of the situation round it.

It is a little town, at the distance of full four German miles from the frontiers of Russia, situate on the side of a great lake: this covered it behind, so that there was no attacking it but in front, which was fortified with a covered-way, a ditch palisadoed, and a raised rampart; the whole made of earth and fascines. The town, though itself situated on an eminence, had hills all round, which commanded it. The highest was on the right of it where there was a windmill. The Swedes had posted there a main-guard, to hinder the Russians from occupying it. The rest of the situation is extremely broken and intersected; there is nothing but woods, marshes, and bramble-bushes, rocks, and ravins, so that it was very difficult to approach the town but by the high road. Here and here, too, one may find little bits of fields, cultivated and enclosed.

1741. closed. Whoever considers this description, must allow it to be very difficult for troops to act upon such a ground, and that a small body of men, that knew how to defend themselves well, could easily defeat a great one that should attack them.

Action
near
Wilman-
strand.

The next day, the 3d of September, it was seen that the enemy had encamped between the hill of the windmill and the glacis. Towards ten in the morning, a party of Swedes drew near to the Russian army to reconnoitre it, and immediately withdrew.

The marshal was not as yet exactly apprized of the force of the enemy. He imagined that the two bodies under Buddenbrog and Wrangel had joined, to come to the relief of Wilmanstrand, so that he judged it would be difficult to attack and defeat them both in the advantageous post they had occupied. He had, in the night, sent back the heavy artillery, under an escort, to the bridge where Rezanof was posted with his regiment; and had even given orders to the quarter-masters to go and mark out a camp behind it, when advice was brought, that it was nothing more than the body of troops under major general Wrangel that had arrived, which, together with the garrison of the town included, might make up about five or six thousand men.

Upon which, the marshal assembled the generals and all the colonels, and, acquainting them of the situation of things, asked their advice: they cried out unanimously for attacking the enemy.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the army got under march, in several columns, without any particular disposition being made for attacking.

The

The dragoons were placed in the wings, but those of the right being absolutely useless, on account of the wood, which was much thicker there than on the left, they were withdrawn. 1741.

Two regiments of foot grenadiers, of ten companies each, commanded by colonel Lockman and count Balmaine, composed the van of the Russian army.

The enemies, having notice that they were marching against them, had got into order of battle, on the declivity of the Windmill-hill, having a battery of cannon before their center, and their left on a ravin, about a musket-shot from the glacis of the town; their dragoons on the right had posted themselves in a small plain, on the other side of that hill, near a small village.

The Russians, being arrived on a rising ground opposite to the Swedish battery, placed there two six-pounders, and some three-pounders, and the action began with a cannonade on each side. The Swedish artillery made some havock among the grenadiers. Upon this, general Keith ordered two regiments of grenadiers to attack the enemy's battery, and the regiments of Ingermaland and Astrachan, commanded by colonel Manstein *, to sustain them. But as the ground was so extremely narrow, that there was no issuing out of the wood which the Russians had before them, but by marching two companies in front, and even then they had to descend a steep ravin, and climb again a hill, in presence of the enemies, and under the fire of their cannon and small arms, which was exceedingly severe; these two regiments were thrown into disorder, and gave way. To hinder then these beginners of a flight to communicate their confusion to the regiments that were following them, ge-

U 2

neral

* The Author.

1741. neral Keith ordered Manstein to march to the right, to get out of the wood, and to attack the left wing of the enemies, who were quitting the ravin on which they had encamped, and were advancing. This was instantly executed, and so happily, that after the first volley which the Swedes received, at sixty paces distance, they wheeled about and ran strait towards the town, where the two regiments followed them to the glacis, which they began to attack.

While this was passing against the left wing of the enemy, the generals had restored the order of the other troops, and caused the right wing of the Swedes to be attacked, who, having remarked the confusion into which the Russian grenadiers had been thrown, descended from their eminence, and lost, by this means, both the advantage of the ground, and that which they derived from their battery, so that they were soon routed, and the hill carried by five o'clock in the evening.

The cannon of the enemy were turned against the town, and the marshal sent a drum to summon it; but the soldiers of the enemy continuing to fire from the rampart, killed him. The Russians, extremely provoked at this incident, renewed the assault with fury, and carried the town towards seven that evening.

The Swedes had hoisted the white flag on the side of the gate, at the time that the Russians were in the fossée; but as, in the confusion, the commandants had forgotten to send orders to all the posts to cease firing, they continued it, and thereby gave occasion for the town being taken by storm.

Most of the Swedes, who had been in this action, were killed or made prisoners. Not five hundred men escaped. Colonel Lieven, with the dragoons, went in pursuit of them, without being able

to

to overtake the Swedish cavalry; and the few foot that got off, hid themselves in the woods and marshes.

1741.

Major-general Wrangel, who had received a gun-shot wound in the arm, two colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, one major, twelve captains, one quarter-master, six lieutenants, eight ensigns, two adjutants, three surgeons, sixty-two subalterns, and twelve hundred and fifty corporals and private soldiers, were made prisoners.

There were also taken four standards, twelve colors, twelve cannon, and one mortar, and the military chest, in which there were not six thousand crowns. The soldiers got a considerable booty in the town, which was plundered.

In the Russian army, there had been killed, the major-general Uxkul, the colonels Lockman and count de Balmaine; * one major, three captains, and eight lieutenants; five hundred and fourteen subalterns and soldiers. Of wounded, there were, lieutenant-general Stoffeln, and major-general Albrecht; the colonels Manstein and Lewaschew; two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, seventeen captains, thirty-one lieutenants, fifteen ensigns, and one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five subalterns and soldiers.

The Russian army was, on the day of action, nine thousand nine hundred strong; the cavalry being composed of two regiments of dragoons, the infantry of two regiments of grenadiers, of ten companies each, and of nine regiments of fusiliers, of eight companies each.

The generals, who commanded those troops, were, the marshals Lacy, Keith, generals in chief; the lieutenant-generals Stoffeln and Bachmetew; the

* Ramsay, who had left the Turkish service, as above related. See p. 87.

1741. the major-generals Lieven, Fermor, Albrecht, and Uxkul.

The Swedes, including the garrison of Wilmanstrand, were five thousand two hundred and fifty-six strong, according to the roll of the regiments, which major-general Wrangel received on the very day of the action. I insert here a specification of the regiments, and of the number of men in each, because the Swedes have always maintained that they had not above three thousand five hundred men.

Infantry, regiment of Dalecarlia,	623
———— Surmaland,	681
———— Wester Bothnia,	594
———— Savalax,	876
———— Tavasthouse,	955
———— Wilbrand,	432
———— Kiminogon,	476
Artillery, - - - - -	113
Dragoons of Carelia, - - - - -	506
Total,	5256

If the strength of the post which the Swedes occupied, and the disadvantage to the Russians of the ground, be considered, it is really astonishing that the former were beaten; it must, however, be owned, that they themselves contributed greatly to it, by their own fault, in quitting the advantageous position they had taken. The resistance they made was extremely obstinate, and served to augment their loss; for there remained of their dead on the field of battle above three thousand three hundred men. The fire, which was very fierce on both sides, lasted above four hours,

It

1741.

It was this action that was the ruin of lieutenant-general Buddenbrog, who, two years afterwards, lost his head. The heaviest article of his accusation, and for which he was condemned to die, was, his not having succoured general Wrangel. But if either of the generals ought to have been punished with death, it was Wrangel. For this general, though the nearest to the frontier, had sent out no scouting parties, nor taken the least step to have intelligence of the march of the Russians; and, but for the false alarm above-mentioned, which was a thing of mere chance, the taking of Wilmanstrand, and the Swedish general being informed of the Russians' arrival, would have been coincident: whereas, had he but taken any the least precautions, he might have known twelve hours sooner that the enemy was marching against Wilmanstrand, consequently, he would have been able to send earlier notice to Buddenbrog, who would have come to his succour, before the Russians had time to beat him. Instead of which, he quitted his post, to march to Wilmanstrand, without waiting the orders of his general.

To say the truth, it was impossible for Buddenbrog to arrive at Wilmanstrand before the battle, his camp being at the distance from it of six Swedish miles, which are above nine German miles, or eighteen French leagues. Wrangel, who was but three of those long miles off, and who, on the second of September, at break of day, had got under march, could not arrive at the town but in the evening, at sunset, with his troops greatly fatigued; so that Buddenbrog, who had double the way to go, could not come up to join him, before the evening on the day of battle. If, then, Wrangel could have avoided coming to action that day, the Russian army would have undoubtedly retreated the next.

Marshal
Lacy

1741.

Lacy would never have hazarded an engagement with both those bodies of troops joined together.*

The night after the action, there was a very extraordinary accident in the camp of Buddenbrog. A few dragoons, who had made their escape from the field, did not stop their full-speed career, not even when arrived in the night-time at the advanced guard. In vain did the centinel call out; no one answering, he fired his alarm-piece, and, taking to horse, fled to the camp: the fugitives followed him, and threw every thing into such confusion, that the troops dispersed, and left Buddenbrog alone, with his officers, in the camp, who had a great difficulty to get their men together again before next day at noon.

In the evening, marshal Lacy put two regiments of foot into Wilmanstrand, under the command of major-general Fermor.

The next day, the 4th September, all the wounded prisoners were sent, under an escort of dragoons, to Wybourg. The town of Wilmanstrand was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants carried into Russia.

The army
returns
into Rus-
sian Fin-
land.

This operation being finished, the army repassed the frontiers, and resumed the same camps which it had left to go against the enemy.

Great rejoicings were made for this victory at Petersburgh, as so auspicious a beginning promised a happy progress in the war. The sequel will shew that they were not mistaken, for this is the only battle the Swedes gave, or in

* The true reason for which the senate took off Buddenbrog's head, and which was never given to the public, was, his having engaged Sweden in the war, by the false report he made, on his being sent to Finland to examine the state of affairs there, as I have precedently related.

or in which they shewed any valor during the whole course of the war. 1741.

The prisoners of war were transferred from Wybourg to Petersburgh, where all imaginable politeness was shewn to them. The officers were treated at court, and, after that, distributed among the first of the nobility; each of whom was obliged to take charge of one, to lodge him in his house, and provide necessaries for his guest. One giddy man spoilt every thing. Count Wafabourg, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Surmaland, was a busy restless spirit, and apt to take great liberties with his tongue. He not only then said abusive things of the Russian army, but of the court itself. As soon as this was known, both he and all the other prisoners were sent into the inward parts of the country, where they were distributed among the towns, otherwise they might have staid all the time of their captivity at Petersburgh; where now none of them remained, except general Wrangel, and a captain, called Didron, who had served him for aid-de-camp general.

The court had not been pleased that Lacy returned with the army; they would have had him gone on to Fredericsham, and have defeated the Swedish troops, one party of them after another, they not being as yet assembled. But these things were not so easy to be executed as was imagined at Petersburgh. Lacy made it appear, that he could not have undertaken more, without hazarding the loss of all the troops under his command. The regiments were diminished by the death and wounds of above two thousand men. There were great escorts necessary to bring away the prisoners, which still weakened him more; the other regiments too, who were on their march to join the army, were not yet arrived, any more than the three battalions of guards which had been detached from Petersburgh; besides, that the troops had not bread left for

1741. for above six days; nor could the horses employed in carrying the wounded to Wybourg have well time to return soon enough; so that the court was obliged to approve all that had been done. He returned a little while afterwards to Petersburgh, and left the command of the army to general Keith.

The war was carried on, for the rest of the campaign, entirely in parties. The Russians had, in all rencounters, the advantage of the Swedes. The Calmucks and Cossacks of the Don, who joined the army in September, made incursions into the territories of the enemy, and burned there a great number of villages.

Arrival of Count Lewenhaupt arrived in Finland about the middle of September, and having at length assembled the Swedish army, he reviewed it, and found it muster twenty-three thousand seven hundred men. *

The armies enter into winter quarters. Several motions were made on both sides, but nothing considerable undertaken. The Russian army kept the field till the 8th of November, when general Keith sent the troops into winter quarters, after being assured that the Swedish army was separated.

Project of the Grand Duchess to declare herself Empress. It was about this time that a part of the ministry advised the Grand-Duchess to declare herself Empress, to prevent the inconveniences that might arise in case of the Emperor's dying in his early years, and before there were other Princes born to succeed him. At first nothing more had been intended than to

* Sweden had bought up a great quantity of grain in Holland, Prussia, and Pomerania, so that the magazines came at length to be so well stored, that they might have served for supplying, for some years together, an army much more numerous than that of Sweden: but all these provisions were burnt or fell into the hands of the Russians, as will hereafter be shewn.

to put forth an edict, by which it was to be regulated and established, that the daughters from the marriage of Prince Anthony Ulrick with the Grand-Duchess should equally succeed to the Empire of Russia, in default of issue male; but the vice-chancellor Golloskin, and some others, were of opinion, that the Grand-Duchess should of herself, and in her own right, ascend the throne, as this would put an end to all cabals. This proposal was generally relished, and all the arrangements were ready for this declaration, which was to be made on the 18th of December, the birth-day of the Grand-Duchess; but Princess Elizabeth disconcerted the whole project.

General Keith came to Petersburg towards the end of November, to assist at a council of war: the assemblies of which were every day at the count of Osterman's, in presence of the generalissimo.

Advices came to general Keith from Wybourg, that the Swedish army was reassembled; that count Lewenhaupt, not having been able to do any thing in the last campaign-season, was preparing to attempt an irruption into Russian Finland during the winter; that he had advanced as far as the frontiers, and that his head-quarters were at Sekyerwy; that he had published a manifesto, of which several copies were sent to general Keith.

The Swedish army takes the field again

This manifesto set forth, That Swedeland was by no means in the intention of making war against the Russian nation, but meant only to deliver it from the oppression and tyranny of foreigners, and to procure liberty for the Russians to chuse any other sovereign they might think more eligible for them.

This manifesto would not have had any the least effect, if it had not been for the measures which the Princess Elizabeth had already taken, as the reader

1741. reader will soon see. At the count of Osterman's, there were several arrangements agreed upon for preventing the progress of the enemy. All the regiments had orders to be in readiness for marching.

General Keith, on the 5th of December, left Petersburg; and on the night between the 5th and 6th, the grand revolution took place by means of which the Princess Elizabeth ascended the throne.

I propose here to give as exact an account of the particulars as I can, it being the most extraordinary event that happened during the whole time I was in Russia.

For giving the clearer conception of the circumstances of this revolution, I must go higher back.

Circumstantial relation of the revolution undertaken and accomplished by the Princess Elizabeth.

The Princess Elizabeth, though far from satisfied during the whole reign of the Empress Anne, had remained quiet till the marriage of the Prince Anthony Ulrick with the Princess Anne was concluded. Then, indeed, she began to take some steps towards forming a party: all which, however, was transacted with such secrecy, that nothing of it transpired while the Empress lived. But after her death, and the seizure of Biron, she began to think more seriously of it. The first months, however, that the Princess Anne had declared herself Grand-Duchess, passed away in the most perfect harmony between her and the Princess Elizabeth. They visited one another without acrimony, and lived together upon terms of familiarity. This did not last long. The ill-intentioned soon inspired both parties with a mutual mistrust. The Princess Elizabeth became more reserved, and no longer went to the Grand-Duchess's, unless upon the days of ceremony, or on such occasions as she could not well avoid paying her a visit. The marriage which the court wanted to force her to contract with Prince Lewis of

of Brunswick, was sovereignly against her inclination; and those about her person pressed her much to deliver herself from the subjection in which she was held. 1741

Her surgeon, Lestock, was, of all her domestics, he that the most exhorted her to place herself on the throne; and the marquis of Chetardie, who had orders from his court to endeavour at the exciting intestine troubles in Russia, to hinder her from intermeddling with the rest of Europe, did not fail of labouring at it with all possible assiduity. The Princess being in want of money, and it was not a little that would serve for the forming a party; La Chetardie supplied her with as much as she required. He had often secret conferences with Lestock, to whom he gave useful counsels for conducting an affair of this consequence. Upon this, the Princess entered into a correspondence with Sweden, and it was partly upon the measures concerted with her that the court of Stockholm undertook the war.

At Petersburg the Princess began with gaining over some soldiers of the guards of the regiment of Preobraskenski. The principal of them was one Grunstein, who, from a bankrupt-merchant, had taken on to be a soldier. This man engaged many others, so that little by little there were got as far as thirty grenadiers of the guards to be of the plot.

Count Osterman, who had spies every where, was informed that the Princess Elizabeth was hatching something against the regency. Lestock, the most giddy man alive, and the least capable of keeping a secret, had often said, in a coffee-house, before a number of people, that there would soon be seen great changes in Petersburg. The minister did not fail of giving notice of all this to the Grand-Duchess, who only laughed at him, nor afforded any

1741. any the least credit to all he could say to her upon this subject. At length, these informations were so often repeated, and even sent to her from other countries, that they grew to give the Princess Anne some uneasiness. At length, she began to apprehend, she might be in danger, but took no measures to avoid it, which she might have done the more easily, for that the Princess Elizabeth gave her time enough to break her measures; who, though she was fully determined to try for the throne, nevertheless, instead of hastening the execution of her designs, was always finding some pretext or other for deferring it from time to time. Her last resolution had been, not to undertake any thing till the 6th of January, (Old Stile) which is twelfth-day, when all the regiments that are in garrison at Petersburg are drawn up, in parade, on the ice of Newa. She proposed then to go there, and, at the head of the regiment of Preobraszensky, to harangue it; and as there were some in it devoted to her, she hoped the rest would not fail of joining them, and then, when the whole regiment should have declared for her, the other troops would make no difficulty of following their example.

This project would have certainly failed, or at least have caused a great effusion of blood. Fortunately for her, she was obliged to hasten the enterprise; several reasons determining her sooner than she had intended to a final resolution of acting.

In the first place, she had learnt that the Grand-Duchess had resolved to declare herself Empress; upon which, all those who were attached to the Princess Elizabeth advised her not to wait the execution of that design, representing to her that she would then find more difficulty, and that even all her measures were likely to be broke by it.

Secondly, Upon the notice which the court had received on the march of count Lewenhaupt, three battalions of the guards had orders to hold themselves

themselves in readiness for marching to Wybourg, and to join the army. Now, many of those who were in the interest of the Princess, were to make part of that detachment. They went to her, and told her, that it was absolutely necessary for her to hasten the execution of her project, for that those who were the most devoted to her, would be gone upon service in the campaign, and that some might be struck with a fear, which would drive them to inform the government of the whole affair.

Besides all which, the imprudence which the regent Anne had, to tax the Princess Elizabeth of her secret conferences with the marquis de la Chetardie, was what principally contributed to bring the enterprize into immediate execution. It was the fourth of December, a court-day, that the Grand-Duchess took the Princess Elizabeth aside, and told her, that she had had several intimations concerning her conduct, and that, especially, her surgeon, had frequent conferences with the French minister, and was plotting treasonable practices against the reigning family; that hitherto, she (the Grand-Duchess) had not wished to give credit to these informations; but that, if they continued, she should be obliged to have Lestock taken up, and that means would be used to force him to confess the truth. The Princess stood out this conversation very well. She protested to the Grand-Duchess, that she had never had a thought of undertaking any thing against her, or against her son; that she had too much religion to break the oath she had taken; that all these informations were given by enemies, who wanted to make her unhappy; that Lestock had never set his foot in Chetardie the French ambassador's house (which was true, for there had always been a third place chosen for their interviews;) that, however, the Grand-Duchess might, if she pleased, have Lestock taken up, which would but serve the more to discover her be-
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ing guiltless. The Princess Elizabeth shed abundance of tears at this explanation, and succeeded so well in persuading her of her innocence, that the Grand-Duchess (who also wept much) believed her wrongfully accused.

As soon as the Princess was returned home, she informed Lestock of her conversation with the Grand-Duchess. This confident of hers would fain have proceeded that very night to the prevention of the imminent danger that hung over the heads of both the Princess and himself. But as all those who were concerned in the plot were dispersed in their quarters, and had no previous notice of any thing, the affair was deferred till the following night.

The next morning, when Lestock waited as usual upon the Princess, he presented a card to her; on one side of which there was drawn with a pencil, the Princess Elizabeth, with an imperial crown on her head; and on the reverse of it, the same Princess, with a nun's veil, and just by her, racks and gibbets; with this, he said to her; '*Your Highness, Madam, must now absolutely chuse, one of these two, to be Empress, or to be put into a convent, and to see your servants perish under tortures.*' He exhorted her then not to delay a moment; and, accordingly, the resolution was fixed for proceeding to extremities that very night. Lestock did not fail of acquainting of it all those who were of their party. At midnight, the Princess, accompanied by the Woronzows and Lestock, repaired to the barracks of the grenadiers of the regiment of Preobrazhensky; thirty of whom were, as has been observed, personally in the plot. These assembled others, to the number of three hundred, as well subalterns as private men. The Princess, in a few words, declared her intention to them, and asked their assistance. They all, to a man, consented to sacrifice themselves for her. Their first step of dispatch was, to seize the officer of the grenadiers, who lay in the barracks; his name Grews, a Scotch-

man:

man: after which they took an oath of fidelity to the Princess. She then put herself at the head of them, and marched strait to the winter-palace, and entered, with part of those that followed her, into the guard-rooms, without finding any the least resistance. There she told the officers the reason of her coming. They made no shew of opposition, and left her to act as she pleased. Centinels were then posted at all the doors and avenues. Lestock and Woronzow penetrated with a detachment of grenadiers into the apartments of the Grand-Duchess, and made prisoners, her and her husband, her children, and the favorite, that was lodged near them. As soon as this was done, several detachments were sent to seize marshal Munich, his son, lord steward of the household to the Grand-Duchess; count Osterman, count Gollofkin, count Lowenwolde, grand-marshal of the court; baron de Mengden, and some others, persons of less consequence. All these prisoners were carried to the palace of the Princess. She sent Lestock to marshal Lacy, to acquaint him of what she had done; and to declare to him that he had nothing to fear; ordering him at the same time to come directly to her.

The senate, and all the greatest men of the empire that were then at Peterburgh, were convened at the palace of the new Empress; and, at break of day, all the troops were assembled before it, where, after the declaration to them that the Princess Elizabeth had seated herself on the throne of her father; the oath of fidelity was tendered to them, and taken without any contradiction, so that every thing was presently in as great tranquillity as before.

The same day, the Empress quitted the house in which she had resided till then, and took possession of the imperial palace.

There can hardly be any that, in reading this event, will not be astonished at the terrible faults

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committed both side.

Faults
commit-
ted on
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committed on both sides. Without the total blindness of the Grand-Duchess, this attempt must have miscarried. I have precedently mentioned, that she had repeated informations sent her even from foreign countries. Count Osterman, one day, made himself be carried to her, and acquainted her of the secret conferences of La Chetardie with Lestock. Instead of an answer to the purpose of what he was telling her, she shewed him a new frock she had had made for the Emperor. The very same evening that she had the explanation above related with the Princess Elizabeth, the marquis de Botta spoke to her as follows: "*Your Imperial Highness has declined assisting the Queen my Mistress, notwithstanding the alliance between the two courts; but as there is now no remedy for that, I hope that, with the assistance of God, and of our other allies, we shall get out of our difficulties: but, at least, Madam, do not at present neglect the taking care of yourself. You are on the brink of a precipice. In the name of God! save yourself! save the Emperor! save your husband!*"

All these exhortations did not determine her to undertake any the least thing to secure her throne. Her imprudence went still farther. Her husband told her, the night before the revolution, that he had had fresh intimations concerning the conduct of the Princess Elizabeth; that he would post piquets in the streets, and was resolved to have Lestock taken up; but the Grand-Duchess hindered him, by her answer; That she believed the Princess guiltless; that when she spoke to her of her conferences with La Chetardie, she had not in the least changed countenance, but had wept bitterly; that, in short, she had persuaded her of her innocence.

The faults on the side of the Princess Elizabeth were not less: Lestock had talked in several places, and before different people, of a change that was

soon

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soon to take place. The rest of her party were not more trust-worthy; the most of them were but soldiers of the guard, consequently of the lower classes of life, and naturally not susceptible of secrecy in an affair of this importance. Even the Princess herself did many things for which she would have been taken into custody under the reign of the Empress Anne. She often walked in the barracks of the guards; nay, she suffered some of the common soldiers to get behind her open sledge, and talk to her as she was drawn along in it through the streets of Petersburg. She had every day many of them in her palace, and affected to make herself popular upon all occasions. But Providence having decided that this attempt should succeed, a fatal blindness prevailed.

On the day of the revolution, the new Empress declared, by a manifesto, that she had ascended her father's throne, in virtue of her hereditary right, and that she had caused the usurpers to be seized. Manifestoes published.

Three days afterwards, another manifesto was published, which was to demonstrate her having an unquestionable title to the imperial crown. It was also therein specified, that as neither the Princess Anne nor her husband had any right to the throne of Russia, they should be sent back, with their family, to Germany. They were forced to leave Petersburg, with all their domesticks, under an escort of the guard, commanded by general Soltikoff, who had been at the head of the police in the time of the Empress Anne; they got no farther than Riga, where they were stopped from proceeding farther. At first, they were lodged in the citadel, and some months after they were transferred to the fort of Dunamund; and, at length, instead of being permitted to go to Germany, they were brought back into Russia.

They have had different places for their prisons.

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The Grand-Duchess died in childbed, March 1746. Her body was brought to Petersburg, and buried in the convent of St. Alexander Newsky.

The place where the prince Anthony Ulrick and the young Emperor are now detained prisoners, are not certainly known. Some say that the father and son are in the same place, and that, by order of the court, there is a good education given to the young Prince *. Others will have it, that he is separated from his father, and in a convent, where he is ill enough brought up.

Character
of the
Princess
Anne.

From every thing that I have said of the Princess Anne, it will not be difficult to define her character. She was extremely capricious, passionate and indolent; hating affairs, and irresolute in trifles, as well as in affairs of the greatest importance. She had a great deal of the humor of her father, the duke Charles Leopold of Mecklenburgh, except that she was not inclined to cruelty. During the year of her regency, she governed with a great deal of mildness. She loved to do good, but did not know how to do it properly. Her favourite possessed her whole confidence, and governed her manner of life just as she pleased. Her ministers and the men of parts were hardly listened to. In short, she had none of the qualities fit for governing so great an empire in a time of trouble and difficulty. She had always a melancholic, and rather a fretful, air, which might proceed habitually from the vexations she had suffered from the duke of Courland during the reign of the Empress Anne. She was handsome; had a very pretty figure, with a good shape; and spoke with fluency several languages.

* This unfortunate youth, whose only crime was his birth and title to the imperial throne, was murdered at Schlusselfurg in the year 1764, in consequence of an attempt in his favor by one Mirawitz, a Russian officer, to which he was neither accused nor suspected of being privy.

As

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As to the Prince, her husband, he had the best heart and the best temper imaginable, with all the intrepidity that could have been wished in military affairs; but he was too timid, too embarrassed in affairs of state. He had come too young into Russia, where he had undergone a thousand crosses from the duke of Courland, who did not love him, and who often treated him very harshly. This hatred of the duke's proceeded from his considering him as the only obstacle to the elevation of his family. For, as soon as he was elected duke of Courland, he had formed the project of making the Princess Anne marry his eldest son. But, notwithstanding the ascendancy he had over the Empress, he never could bring her to consent to it.

Prince Lewis of Brunswick, who was still at Petersburg at the time of the revolution, and who had an apartment in the palace, was also seized on in his chamber. Some hours afterwards, the Empress ordered his guards to be taken off; and he had a lodging assigned him in the house which the Grand-Duchess had given to her favorite, where there had been buildings carried on all the preceding summer and autumn. There was but one room in it that could be warmed, which he was obliged to occupy, and to rest contented with it. He remained at Petersburg till March 1742, when he returned to Germany. He had a guard allowed him by way of honor, but in reality to observe who came to see him. The foreign ministers visited him.

Before I proceed to speak of other affairs that came on after the revolution, I shall first treat of what concerns the principal prisoners on that occasion.

There was a commission appointed, which was constituted of several senators, and others of the Russian nobility, to prepare and conduct their trial. They were accused of various crimes. Among others, demned.

The principal prisoners are tried and condemned.

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others, it was imputed to count Osterman, That he had contributed, by his cabals, to the election of the Empress Anne, and that he had suppressed the will of the Empress Catherine.

Count Munich was charged with having told the foldiers, at the time of his seizing on the duke of Courland, That it was in order to place the Princess Elizabeth on the throne.

Both of them could easily have disproved these accusations, but they were not allowed to make their defence.

The true crimes of all these prisoners were, their having incurred the displeasure of the new Empress, and their having too well served the Empress Anne.

Besides, the Empress had promised those who assisted her to ascend the throne, that she would deliver them from the oppression of foreigners; so that she was obliged to condemn those of them who had been the highest promoted.

The tenor of the sentence was, That count Osterman should be broken alive upon the wheel; that marshal Munich should be quartered; that count Gollofkin, count Lowenwolde, and the baron Mengden, should be beheaded.

The Empress, at once, pardoned them all, as to their lives; but they were banished into different parts of Siberia. Count Osterman had not his pardon till he was on the scaffold, with his head on the block.

The court caused a manifesto to be published on this occasion, in which all the crimes * of which they were accused were specified.

* There were few of them that were not invented, and those in which there was any truth, did not deserve so severe a punishment.

All the fortunes of the exiled, except those that their wives had brought them, were confiscated to the profit of the court, which gratified others with them.

The permission had been indulged to these ladies of going to settle upon their own estates, and of not following their husbands; but not one of them would avail herself of the liberty.

The first care of the Empress, after her getting possession of the Imperial power, was, to reward those who had served her in this revolution. She began with her favorite, Rasoumowsky, who was declared chamberlain some months after her coronation. She raised him to the post of grand-master of the hunt, made him a count, and gave him the blue ribbon. Schowalow, the two Woronzows brothers, and Balck, who had served the Princess in quality of gentlemen of the chamber, were also made chamberlains. Rewards.

She declared Lestock actual privy-counsellor, first physician, and president of the college of physicians. The whole company of grenadiers of the regiment of Preobraszensky were ennobled and promoted. The private men of them had the rank of lieutenants, and the corporals that of majors, the armourer and quarter-master that of lieutenant-colonels, and the serjeants that of colonels of the army. It was called the company of body-guards. Her Majesty declared herself the captain of it; the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, lieutenant-captain Rasoumowsky, and Woronzow, first lieutenants, had the rank of lieutenant-generals; and the Schouwallows, lieutenants, the rank of major-generals. Grunstein was made adjutant of this company, with the title of brigadier. He did not long keep his ground; accustomed to the being a private soldier, his head was too weak to bear a higher fortune, and growing giddy with his preferment, he was guilty of all kind of insolences, broke out into disrespect to

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to the Empress herself, and ended with undergoing the knout, and being banished to the lands which the Empress had given him when she promoted him.

This company committed all imaginable disorders for the first months that the Empress remained at Petersburg. The new noble lieutenants ran through all the dirtiest public houses, got drunk, and wallowed in the streets. They entered into the houses of the greatest noblemen, demanding money with threats, and took away, without ceremony, whatever they liked. There was no keeping within bounds, men, who having been all their lifetime used to be disciplined by drubbing, could not presently familiarise themselves to a more civil treatment. It must have been the work of time to reduce them to good manners. I do not know whether they were ever brought to correct themselves, but the most unruly of them were expelled the corps, and placed as officers in other regiments of the army, where the vacancies were many. An admirable expedient this for procuring excellent officers!

There were several other promotions, and a number of blue ribbons bestowed. Bestucheff had one. He had, as I have above observed, been seized on, and made prisoner, at the same time that the duke of Courland was. Having justified himself before the commissioners, he was released, but had no employ during the regency of the Princess Anne. The Empress gave him the place of vice-chancellor, in the room of Golloskin; and after the death of the Prince Czerkasky, she named him high-chancellor.

Truce
with Swe-
den.

The Empress, who wished to begin her reign with the conclusion of a peace with Sweden, on the very day she mounted the throne, restored liberty to Didron, the Swedish captain, before mentioned,
who

who was then prisoner of war at Petersburg. She dispatched him to count Lewenhaupt, to notify to him her accession to the throne, and to declare to him that she would readily come into terms of an accommodation with Sweden. The marquis de la Chetardie wrote at the same time to the Swedish general; and it was agreed there should be a truce till the 1st of March; and, in the mean while, to endeavour at the procuring a peace.

The Swedes, who imagined to themselves, that, by their diversion, they had greatly contributed to the placing the Empress on the throne, set up great claims, hoping to obtain nothing less than all Finland, with the town of Wybourg. But the Empress would never consent to give up an inch of ground of the conquests made by her father. She offered to indemnify, and even recompense, Sweden with money, but the court of Sweden refused it; so that the term of the truce was scarce expired when the war began again.

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Pretensions of the Swedes.

The Empress recalled from Siberia a number of the banished families, of which a great part had been sent thither in the time of the Empress Catherine. All the posts were restored to them which they had occupied before their imprisonment. It was reckoned, that since the commencement of the Empress Anne's reign, there had been above twenty thousand sent to Siberia. There were five thousand of them, of which the habitation could never be discovered, nor any the least news learnt of what was become of them. But as the Empress had recalled all that could be found, there was not a day passed but there were seen at court some new faces of persons who had passed several years successively in the most horrid prisons.

The Empress recalls a number of the exiled.

The duke of Courland was also recalled, together with all those who had been involved in his disgrace; and the marshal Munich was sent to occupy

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cupy the very house in which the other had lived at Pelim, the place of his exile in Siberia. As to the duke, the Empress made him an establishment in the town of Jeroslaw, where he is very well treated. He is allowed the liberty of hunting for eight miles round. He sees company there, and has permission to write to his friends. Gustavus Biron was to re-enter into the service, but he died at Petersburg before he could be settled in his post. His elder brother asked leave to retire, and obtaining it, returned to Courland, where he died, on his lands. General Bismark was sent to Ukrain, where he had the command of the troops.

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Arrival of
the duke
of Hol-
stein at
Peterf-
burgh.

In the month of January, the duke of Holstein arrived at Petersburg. The Empress had invited him there as soon as she was on the throne; and was greatly rejoiced at seeing her nephew and successor. Some months afterwards, this Prince made his abjuration of the protestant faith, in the cathedral church of Moscow, and embraced the Greek religion. He was declared Grand-Duke of Russia, and lawful heir of this Empire. On this occasion, all the people took a new oath.

Towards the end of February, the court repaired to Moscow to celebrate the coronation of the Empress, which was performed on the 25th of April (Old Style). There were, on this occasion, many rejoicings, and some great promotions. The marquis de la Chetardie, with some others, had the blue ribbon of St. Andrew, and some months afterwards returned to France, loaded with presents.

Opinion
that the
Empress
would
enter into
a strict al-
liance
with
France.

In the beginning of this reign, every one imagined that the Empress would not fail of contracting a close alliance with France. There were all the appearances of it. La Chetardie had, by order of his court, assisted this Princess with money and counsels, which had much contributed to the revolution.

Her

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Her Majesty had great reasons to be dissatisfied at the courts of Vienna and London; their ministers had watched her conduct, and given several intimations of it to the regent; nay, even after she was seated on the throne, they had sent orders to their ministers to endeavour at bringing about a new revolution. La Chetardie continued in great favor all the time he staid in Russia: there did not pass a day without his having long conferences with the Empress. And yet, for all this, every thing soon changed aspect. The first leading cause of this was, the two great pretensions of Sweden, which France seconded as strenuously as she could. The count of Bestucheff did the rest, as soon as Le Chetardie was gone. He had then a clear stage. In the belief that a connexion with the house of Austria and its allies was now more advantageous to Russia than an alliance with France, he applied himself to restore a good understanding between his court and that of Vienna. He succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. Monf. d'Allion, who had succeeded to La Chetardie, had not the capacity to hinder it. And as to the English court, it found means to overcome many difficulties, and made up all matters.

A little while after the court's arrival at Moscow, The count of Saxe arrives at Moscow. the count of Saxe came there. He was just come from France to solicit the dutchy of Courland. (I have precedently explained the pretensions he had to this dutchy.) But as the court of Russia draws to itself the greatest part of the revenues of that country, having taken possession of a number of districts or bailywicks there, which it will try to keep as long as possible, the count of Saxe met with no success, and went back without having done any thing.

I had forgot to mention precedently, that the Empress annulled every thing that was done during the regency. Even those who were promoted by

1742
The Empress Elizabeth annulled every thing that was done during the regency. The cabinet-council is broke.

by herself were obliged to lay down all the employments which they had before held from the Grand-Duchess; and all the lands she had granted were confiscated. Some little time after, the Empress reconfirmed the posts, but the lands and pensions were given back but to very few.

The cabinet-council which the Empress Anne had established was also abolished. Elizabeth restored to the senate all the power which it had enjoyed under the reign of Peter I. All affairs are judged there finally, and in *dernier ressort*: and, according to the institution by this Emperor, the reigning sovereign ought often to preside there. This tribunal had, in former times, the power of capital punishment; but Elizabeth having made a vow, never to have any one executed to death during her reign, she has reserved to herself the confirmation of its sentences. This resolution being public, has greatly augmented the licentiousness of the people. I have before observed, that the Empress promised to those who assisted her in the revolution, that she would deliver the Russian nation from the oppression of the foreigners. She kept her word. But the worthy gentlemen of the company of body-guards did not, it seems, think that quite sufficient: they presented a memorial, in which they desired, that all the foreigners that were then in the service of Russia might be massacred, or at least sent away. The Empress, not thinking fit to consent to so horrid a project, endeavoured to appease that gentry, and declared, at the same time, that she took all the foreigners under her special protection. Notwithstanding which, after that the court was gone to Moscow, a report was spread at Petersburg among the people, that the troops which were in that capital would have permission to massacre and plunder all the foreigners.

Tumult
at Petersburg.

The soldiers of the guards, and especially those
of

of the old regiments, being the most insolent, and the least disciplined of all the troops of the Empire, committed innumerable disorders, attacked the town's people they met in the street, and plundered them. On Easter-day, this lawless licentiousness went still farther.

A soldier of the guards picked a quarrel in the streets with a grenadier of one of the country regiments, then in quarters at Petersburgh. From words they came to blows. An officer of the grenadiers happened to pass that way, who unfortunately was a German. Going then to part them, he pushed away the soldier of the guards, who immediately began to cry out that he was insulted, and to call his comrades, that were in the neighbourhood. In an instant, there was a croud gathered, all of soldiers of the guards. The officer, who could not alone oppose a whole mob, retired into a house hard by, in which there were several officers met, who knew nothing of what had passed in the street. The croud followed them, and broke open the door, which they had barricaded as well as they could in such a hurry. They attacked the officers, who, finding themselves too weak to resist such an enraged multitude, retired from room to room, till they had got at last into the garret. They were closely pursued every where. Some were lucky enough to make their escape over the roof: the others were come at, and unmercifully knocked down and beaten. Sautron, an aid-de-camp of marshal Lacy, and Browne, a captain, were the worst used, being, for some days, so ill of their wounds, that it was thought they would die. At length, the tumult was appeased by the guards that were sent them, and the most mutinous were seized.

The marshal sent advice of this disorder to court. The guilty were punished; but so slightly, that the insolence of the guards grew to such a pitch, that
some

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some time afterwards they began a fresh revolt even in the camp itself, as will be seen in its place.

To prevent farther disorders of this kind, marshal Lacy had piquets of the country regiments posted in all the streets, and ordered frequent patrols by night and by day; notwithstanding which, the whole town of Petersburg was in great terror; the inhabitants did not think themselves safe in their houses, nor did any one venture out into the streets after dark. Mean while, never were greater precautions taken for keeping the gates carefully shut, both night and day, than during that time. Most certain it is, that if it had not been for the good arrangements made by marshal Lacy, the disorders would have multiplied, and gone greater lengths.

On the 21st of March, the hostilities between the Russians and the Swedes began afresh. The season, which is at that time very severe in that climate, prevented their making war in any way but in parties. Three hundred hussars, sustained by three hundred foot, made an inroad into the enemy's country, and laid waste a number of villages; after which they retreated.

Count Lacy, who wanted to open the campaign as early as possible, sent orders to the regiments to assemble near Wybourg, by the end of April; but the badness of the season, and the excessive cold, continued till the middle of May; nor could the cavalry keep the field before the end of the month, for want of grass.

Manifesto
disperfed
through
Finland.

Mean while, the court of Petersburg caused a manifesto to be circulated in Finland, by which the Finlanders were exhorted to detach themselves from Sweden. This manifesto, which made a strong impression on a great part of the Finlanders, was the cause that, in the Swedish army, they were much distrusted in the course of the campaign.

The

The same reasons which had retarded the Russian army's taking the field, had also prevented the Swedes. But, besides that, count Lewenhaupt had committed egregious faults. He had sent his army into winter-quarters, at places much too distant from the frontiers; not having kept at Fredericsham, and its neighbourhood, above five or six thousand men, whereas a great part of the Russian army had its quarters very near the frontiers. Lewenhaupt had been so fully persuaded that peace would be made, that he had neglected several necessary dispositions for the ensuing campaign.

1742.
Arrangements of
the
Swedes.

He had, at the beginning of March, learnt, that some Russian regiments had orders to march; and the invasion of the hussars had made him believe that the Russian army would begin its operations in the winter: upon this, he burnt one of his own magazines, which he had made near a village called Quarenby, on the hither side (towards Russia) of Fredericsham, and sent orders to the troops to assemble near that town, obliging them thereby to make forced marches, which extremely fatigued the regiments, and put them into a very bad plight against the ensuing campaign. He afterwards sent them back to their old quarters, where most of them were remaining very quietly, when the Russians began their operations.

The Russian army assembled at Wybourg at the latter end of May. Marshal Lacy came there, and made the review of his troops. The cavalry consisted of three regiments of cuirassiers, in all 1640 men; a detachment of the horse-guards, 300; six regiments of dragoons, 4200; three regiments of hussars, 1786; and 2500 cossacks of the Don. The infantry consisted of three battalions of the foot-guards, and of 28 battalions of the country regiments; each battalion might have 500 men. There had been ten thousand men embarked in forty-three galleys;

The Russian army
assembles
at Wy-
bourg.

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gallies; so that the Russian army might amount to 35 or 36,000 men.

The generals who commanded under marshal Lacy, were, the general Lewaschew on the gallies; Keith and Lowendahl in the land-army. The lieutenant-generals, the two Brillys, in the gallies; Stoffeln, count Soltikof, and the Prince of Holstein, in the land-army. The major-generals, Brátke, Lieven, Wedel, Bruce, a count Lacy, Browne, Lapouchin and Tischerntzow, in the land-army; Caroulow and Kindeman in the gallies. Major-general Tamilow had the direction of the artillery.

State of
the Russian
fleet.

The Russian fleet had not gone out of port during the preceding campaign; it was now resolved that it should act this year. The admiralty had orders to put as many ships to sea as it possibly could, and actually accomplished the fitting out twelve ships of the line, and some frigates. The vice-admiral Mischoukow had the command of it. He did no great matters, or rather he did nothing; for he durst not undertake any thing against the Swedish fleet, though much weaker than his own, and though he had repeated orders from the court to attack it.

The war against the Turks had reduced to nothing the old sailors and the best officers of the marine; there were not by this time men to be got for the complement of their ships, so that the Empress was obliged to break a regiment of foot to put the soldiers on board the fleet to help to man it. Tho' these new sailors were not worth much, some service, however, was obtained from them, by mixing them with the old on board the men of war. As it was feared, that the Swedes might this year make descents in Livonia, some regiments were left there, under the command of the major-general Butler, to guard the coasts near Revel.

Mutiny of
the guards
in the
camps.

I have precedently touched upon the mutiny made by the guards in the beginning of the campaign: it happened in the following manner:

While

While the army was encamped under Wybourg, the Swedes sent a subaltern officer and a drum with letters for marshal Lacy. Lieven, who was the major-general of the day, was at the advanced posts when they came, and as the marshal was then in the town, Lieven had the messengers conducted to his own tent, took the letters, and carried them to the marshal himself. Lieven being at the same time colonel of the horse-guards, had his quarters behind them, so that some of the soldiers of the foot-guards, who were encamped near his tent, having seen them return with the Swedes, went directly to tell their comrades, that the foreigners were conspiring against the state; that they received messages and letters from the enemy; that general Lieven had Swedes concealed in his tent; that the being commanded by foreign officers was no longer to be borne; and that the best thing they could do would be, to massacre them all together, and begin with Lieven. Instantaneously three or four hundred soldiers and subalterns of the foot-guards, of the regiments of Preobraskensky and Semeonowsky, having got together, went straight to general Lieven's tent, and not finding him, entered into the secretary's office, where the Swedes had been put, seized them, together with the general's aid de camp, and used them extremely ill. The general's guard, endeavouring to oppose these violences, met with no better treatment than the Swedes, the general's aid-de-camp, and his domestics. The officers ran to appease this disorder, but the soldiers shewed them no respect, nor made them any other answer, than "that the foreign officers should all be massacred; that done, they should obey those of their own nation."

There were no officers of these mutinous corps that would come near them; some, for fear of ill usage; others, not to hinder the execution of a thing they had long wished.

Y

While

MEMOIRS OF RUSSIA.

While this was doing, general Keith, who had been informed of the disorder, arrives. He throws himself, without the least hesitation, into the thickest of the mutinous troops; seizes, with his own hand, one of the mutineers; orders a priest to be called to confess him; saying, He would have him that moment shot on the spot; commanding, withal, his aid-de-camps and officers to lay hold of some others. Scarce had he pronounced those words, with that firmness which is so natural to him, before the whole band of them dispersed, and ran each to hide himself in his tent. Keith ordered a call of the rolls at the head of the camp, that the absent should be taken into custody, and information to go out against all that were present at the mutiny. As neither the horse-guards nor country regiments were concerned in this rising, they had taken arms to repulse and quiet by force the insolence of the two regiments of foot-guards, if they could not be otherwise appeased.

If it had not been for the spirited resolution of general Keith, this revolt would have spread far, as no Russian officer would have undertaken to oppose the rage of the soldiery.

The forwardest in the mutiny were all seized; and the court ordered a commission to examine into the affair. General Romanzow was the president. The ringleader had his right hand cut off, and was sent to Siberia; the rest had the *knout*, and were disposed of the same way.

Yet is the hatred which even the Russian nobility had conceived against foreigners not quite without excuse. They had not only been compelled by the ordinances of Peter I. to change a great part of their ancient customs, but under the reign of the Empress Anne, all the first posts were given to strangers, who regulated every thing according to their fancy; and the greatest part of them made, by their harshness,

harshness, the Russians feel too sensibly the power they had in hand, treating even some of the first families of the empire with great haughtiness and contempt. Add to this the promise made by the Empress, at her accession to the throne, that she would deliver Russia from dependence on foreigners, and which she had not quite fulfilled, at least according to the idea of her guards.

On the 18th of June, marshal Lacy began his march with the army, taking his way along the sea-side, that he might keep up a free communication with the galleys, who carried the greatest part of the army's provisions. Beginning of the operations of the campaign.

Major-general Wedel was detached with six hundred dragoons, one thousand hussars, and most of the cossacks, on the high road to Wilmanstrand, to alarm the enemy on that side; and had orders to advance within six leagues of Fredericsham.

The Russian army, during this campaign, observed the following order in its marches, when at a competent distance from the enemy. The light-horse composed the van, followed by the cuirassiers and half the dragoons; the artillery came next, followed by the infantry; the other half of the dragoons formed the rear-guard. But, as often as the marshal judged there was any likelihood of coming to an engagement, he put part of the infantry at the head. For, as the country of Finland is extremely close, there is ever a necessity of defiling in a very small front, and there is no marching but in one column; nor is any way practicable but along the high road, with rocks, woods, and marshes on each side. In the woods, there is not one place spacious enough for encamping an army together, so that there were always four regiments of foot, and the dragoons of the rear-guard in a separate camp, at the distance of one or two leagues from the main camp.

Count Lewenhaupt, who had not as yet assembled

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Monf. de
Lagen-
crantz is
sent to
Moscow,
to treat
of a peace.

the Swedish army, was greatly embarrassed when he heard that the Russians were in march. He sent colonel Lagencrantz to marshal Lacy to treat of a peace; but as the marshal had no instructions on this head from the court, he persuaded him to go to Moscow, and did not the less continue his march against the enemy.

On the 24th of June, the Russian army entered into Swedish Finland; the villages which, on the frontiers, had been burnt the winter before by the Cossacks, to deprive the Swedish troops of means of subsistence, and of taking up their quarters there. The inhabitants had escaped into the innermost parts of the country, so that all thereabouts was a desert.

General Wedel sent several prisoners to the camp, from whom it was learnt, that the enemies were hard at work, in making, with the utmost diligence, a retrenchment near the village of Mendolax, situate at four leagues distance from Fredericsham, on the Russian side; that their army was not, as yet, entirely assembled; but that repeated orders had been sent to the regiments to repair, with all possible expedition, to the camp, which was pitched on the other side of Fredericsham; that their army consisted of four regiments of cavalry, three of dragoons, and sixteen of infantry; that the regiments had suffered greatly in the winter, by the long marches they had been obliged to take.

The Russian army continued its march till the 30th of June, without having any news of the enemy, through the closest country, and on the worst roads in the universe. There were some places of such a nature, that two hundred men, behind a good retrenchment, and a barricade of felled trees, might have stopped short a whole army.

June 30, The Russian army was encamped on the river of Vereyocky, of which the Swedes having destroyed the bridge they set presently to work

to

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to make a new one. A Swedish deserter came to the camp, and brought advice, that count Lewenhaupt was come to Mendolax, to forward the works the more by his presence, and that the whole Swedish army was to assemble there, and dispute the pass with the Russians. The spies having confirmed this intelligence, the marshal ordered the heavy baggage to be left at Vereyocky, with eight hundred regulars and two hundred Cossacks to guard it, under general Kindeman. The sick of the army were embarked on board the galliots that had brought provisions for the army, and sent back to Wybourg. The troops had orders to take with them biscuits for ten days. The bridge being finished, and the whole army passed over by the 1st of July, the marshal reinforced the land-army with two regiments of grenadiers, and three thousand soldiers, whom he drew out of the gallies, with general Lewaschew.

General Wedel returned to the camp with his detachment, having met with only one party of the enemy, of whom he had killed thirty, and taken fourteen prisoners.

July 2, Wedel was detached anew to observe the motions of the enemy. From the spies it was learnt, that there were not above four thousand of the enemy arrived at Mendolax, but that their gallies were at anchor on the right of the intrenchment, whence they might draw men to reinforce it. Upon this advice, marshal Lacy gave an order to lieutenant-general Brilly to advance with a part of the Russian gallies, and to try to force those of the enemy to abandon their station.

July 3, The Russian army advanced as far as Ravayocky, a village situate within three leagues of the retrenchment.

July 5, A Swedish detachment of three hundred foot and fifty dragoons, came out of the retrenchment,

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ment, with a design to carry off the advanced-guard of the Russians, but the hussars alighting, attacked them so briskly, that they obliged them to retreat in a hurry, after having an officer and fifteen men dead on the spot. The Russians took ten prisoners of them, and had not on their side above two hussars killed, and forty wounded.

The
Swedes abandon
their retrenchment at
Mendolax

The Russian army having advanced to within half a mile of the retrenchment, the marshal went to reconnoitre it with his generals. They found it extremely strong, both by its situation and by the felling of the trees, by way of barricade. The guides were examined, to get from them whether there was any way of turning it. These demonstrated the impossibility. The right was on the sea, the left on a great lake, which not only reached a great way into the wood, that was excessively thick, but had a marshy impracticable bottom. After having examined all these things, the marshal resolved, nevertheless, to attack the intrenchment. It was defended in front by a deep and very steep ravin, that seemed cut, as it were, into the rock. This ravin was at the bottom about a hundred feet wide, where there ran a small rivulet. The ground was marshy, and fortified with a thick wood, of which all the trees, being felled, were laid across the morafs, so as to form a barricade, which it was not possible to pass. To come at this retrenchment, which had two hundred and fifty fathoms in front, there was a wood to go through, which hid every thing till one came within length of a small musket-shot.

It was designed to make several attacks, but there were only two ways to be found that led to it; the broader one was the high road near the right of the enemy; the narrower was a path-way towards their left.

General Lewaschew, at the head of six regiments of foot and two of dragoons, went along the path-way.

way. The marshal, with the rest of the army, took the high road.

General Lewaschew's march was much retarded by the path-way's being so extremely narrow, that they were obliged every now and then to halt, to make it broader, by cutting down the trees on both sides, to let the cannon pass.

The marshal caused the retrenchment to be reconnoitred anew, by an officer, who reported, that he had approached very near to the barrier, without perceiving any one. At the same time, general Lewaschew sent word to the marshal, that some of the hussars had penetrated into the retrenchment itself, and found it abandoned by the enemies.

Some light troops were detached in pursuit of them, but could not come up with them, they having fled in the night-time to Fredericsham, where they were arrived before their retreat was so much as known,

The Russian army passed the retrenchment, and took possession of the camp the Swedes had just quitted.

The more this post was examined, the more astonishing it appeared that they should have abandoned it. It was found extremely strong, both by its situation and by the works that had been made there. It was universally agreed, that if they had manned it with seven thousand of their troops, and planted twenty pieces of cannon, for which they had actually prepared batteries and platforms, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to force it. The Russians must have lost, in the attempt, great part of their infantry, and probably have been obliged to abandon the enterprize. Some grenadiers were, for the experiment sake, sent to try to clamber up the front of the retrenchment, and employed above an hour before they could get to the top of the parapet : but what must it have been if they had

1742. had attempted it, under the warm reception of a brisk fire of cannon and small arms?

The Russian army draws near to Fredericsham.

July 6, Marshal Lacy and the generals went to reconnoitre Fredericsham. This town is situated upon an eminence, having the sea on one side, and a great lake on the other; the space between both is fortified: the works indeed were only of earth and fascines, ill enough kept in repair; but there is no investing the town entirely, on the account of the lake, which is near five leagues in circuit. The garrison had the communication open with the army, which was encamped behind it, and could refresh it with supplies of men as often as it should need them.

The siege of it appeared difficult to the generals. Even the ground seemed to forbid it, being nothing but rocks, which make it very hard to open the trenches; besides, what with the marshes, and the prodigious thickness of the woods, they could scarce find room for pitching a camp. All these difficulties did not discourage the marshal; he was determined to attack the place.

The enemy had made three gallies approach it, to bear on the left flank of the Russians, which was to the seaward, and upon which they kept a great firing; but the Russians having returned it with the same vivacity, and damaged one of the gallies, they sheered off.

July 7, The army approached Fredericsham. The camp it occupied was so uneven, and so full of rocks, that there was not a place in which they could draw up a regiment in order of battle. A part of the dragoons was even obliged to encamp so near the enemies works, that they were not above a cannon-shot distance from them.

The

The marshal having a second time reconnoitred the works of the town, gave the direction of the siege to count Lowendahl.

The army being in want of battering pieces, some gallies were sent to Wybourg to bring them. The regiments were set to make fascines, and the matrosses to prepare the planks for the platforms; and as the whole country is full of wood, the work went on with sufficient expedition.

It was then resolved to open the trenches, on the night between the 9th and 10th of the month (July). Count Lowendahl had reconnoitred an eminence, on which he designed to place the first battery. In short, all the dispositions were ready for beginning the siege, when the Swedes rendered them needless, by abandoning the town. At eleven at night, it was seen all on fire. At first, it was imagined that the commandant was ordering the suburbs to be burnt. Some hussars, being sent to reconnoitre, brought back word, that the fire was in the body of the town itself, and that the enemy had abandoned it. The Swedes had, in their retreat, filled several houses with powder, bomb-shells, grenades, and loaded muskets, which went off one after another in the air. This hindered the Russians from entering, and putting out the fire. A great party of the light troops ventured, however, through the flames, to pursue the enemy, but could only catch and bring away a few of the sick, who could not follow their own people fast enough, the main of the army having had time enough to get to a greater distance.

Three-fourths of the houses of Fredericsham were reduced to ashes. There were found in the place ten pieces of brass cannon, that were eighteen and twenty-four pounders; a hundred and twenty iron cannon, of different sizes. Almost all the magazines had been consumed by the flames, so that there

The
Swedes
abandon
Frederic-
sham.

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there was but little found of provisions and ammunition. One only magazine of powder had not been blown up, that contained four hundred quintals of powder, and some thousands of barrels of pitch.

One may judge of the precipitation with which the enemy made their retreat, since the regiment of East-Bothnia left even one of its colors behind.

It must be owned, that the fortifications themselves were very indifferent; all the works being of nothing but earth; however, as the place had a free communication with the sea; as the army was encamped behind the town, ready to pour in succours to it without its being in the power of the Russians to hinder them; as there was in the place a sufficiency of victuals and ammunition of war; as the ground itself about the town rendered the works of the besiegers extremely difficult; there is no being enough astonished at the Swedes having abandoned it without any the least resistance. The garrison had consisted of eight regiments; to wit, Boufquet, Wilbrand, Abow, East-Bothnia, Savalax, Kiminogon, and Tawafchouse.

The fault committed by Lewenhaupt in abandoning Fredericsham was the greater, for that he had established there the grand magazine of the army; that the troops had not, after their retreat thence, bread for ten days; that he had not even provided the means of drawing provisions from Helsingfort, the other magazine; that he was, consequently, obliged to abandon the whole country, and to draw near this town. In short, in ten months time, that he commanded in Finland, he had not so much as made it an object of consideration, whether he should defend or abandon Fredericsham.

The marshal ordered two thousand workmen to clear the town, and the gallies to enter the port.

July

July 10, On the festival of St. Peter, the name-day of the Grand-Duke, the *Te Deum* was sung, in thanksgiving for that the Russian army had taken Fredericsham, the only fortified town in all Swedish Finland, without losing a single man.

A detachment of hussars, that had been out a pickeering, brought in with them some prisoners, who gave intelligence, that the enemy's army had passed the river of Soma, and was encamped on the other side.

July 11, The Russian army marched ten wersts, or near three French leagues, passed the river Soma, and encamped on the spot which the enemy had just quitted. The hussars, who kept close at the heels of the Swedes in their march, brought word that their army was passing the Kymen, and that the greatest part of them was already on the other side.

July 12, The Russians advanced to the Kymen. The whole Swedish army had crossed that river; not one remaining on the hither side but a guard, that retreated as soon as they saw the Russian army approach, which encamped along the side of the river. Nothing was seen of the enemy but a few platoons, posted upon the eminences on the other side. There they staid quietly enough till the Russians had entered their camp, and that their regiments of cavalry had taken off the saddles and bridles of their horses; then they played a fierce fire upon them from cannon, which they had planted on those eminences, and which were masked by those platoons of infantry. They more especially galled the quarter of the cuirassiers, who were encamped the nearest to the river. The marshal ordered them to change their place, and stationed them behind a wood, where they were sheltered from the enemy's guns.

Some

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Some batteries were planted on the Russian side of the river, which soon silenced those of the Swedes; having at the first fire dismounted two of their pieces.

Passage of
the Ky-
men.

Order of
the court.

July 13, The Swedish army quitted the banks of the Kymen. The marshal then made all the necessary dispositions for crossing that river. The bridges were made, and the greatest part of the army was already on the other side, when the marshal received a courier from the court, who brought him a positive order to put an end to the operations of this campaign, as soon as he should have forced the Swedes to pass the Kymen; to establish that river for a frontier; to build along the side of it small forts, at convenient distances, and to encamp with his army near Fredericsham, till it should be time to put his army into winter-quarters.

The marshal immediately assembled all the generals, and held a council of war on the banks of the river itself. All the Russian generals were to a man of the opinion, for repassing the river, and following literally the order of the court; but the foreigners represented, that the court would never have given such an order, if it could have imagined that the enemy would so easily abandon their posts; their council then was, That since they had passed the river, it would be best to improve the advantages they had over the Swedes, and drive them, if possible, to Helsingfort, to take that town, and terminate, by that stroke, the operations of the campaign.

The marshal preferred this opinion. The army pursued its way, and, after some marches, came to encamp near Pernokirk, where they found the Swedes encamped over against them, in a very advantageous post; but who, after having, for some days, stood the presence of their enemies, began to be afraid of being turned by the Russian galleys,

which

which made them decamp, and retreat to Borgo. The Russians followed them there; and the armies remained again for some days in face of each other; the Russians on one side of the river, the Swedes on the other. At length, the Swedes retreated as far as Helsingkirk, where they pitched a camp of great strength; their right being on the sea, they had in front a deep morass, of a quarter of a French league broad, where there was but one little pathway for eight or ten men to pass a breast, and a river, that headed near the morass, and covered the right wing and rear: but even this post, where they might have remained several months without fear of attack, did not appear strong enough for them, when they heard that Stoffeln had been detached with some regiments; they were afraid of being taken in the rear, and cut off from their magazines, so that they retreated as far as Helsingfort.

The marshal and all the generals had often been to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, to try to discover if there was no way to make an impression on it, but in vain; they did not find it possible. They were then extremely pleased when they saw them decamp. Some light troops were sent to harass them in their march, and the Russian army immediately followed them.

Near Helsingfort, the Swedes found a retrenched camp, which had been preparing for them before they arrived there; notwithstanding which, the resolution was taken to abandon that likewise, and to retreat to Abow.

The same evening, the Russian army drew near to Helsingfort, when a Finlander peasant desired to speak with the marshal, and told him, that the Swedes designed to march the next day towards Abow, but that it would be no difficult matter to hinder them, there being across the wood a road, which Peter I. had caused to be made in the preceding

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ding war; this he assured might be easily rendered passable, by clearing away the bushes that had been growing for thirty years, during which time it had never been used; and that this road terminated on the other side of the wood, at the highway from Helsingfort to Abow.

Upon this advice, two officers, engineers, were sent to reconnoitre the ground, and reported the thing practicable. General Lowendahl was then detached with sixty-four companies of grenadiers and four battalions. Before the night was over, they sent word that the way was cleared, and that they had posted themselves on the road of Abow.

By four in the morning, the whole army was under march, and joined Lowendahl by six. Scarce was the junction made, when they saw the van of the Swedish army. The Swedes, terribly surprized at discovering the Russians in a part where they had by no means expected them, returned as fast as possible into their camp of Helsingfort, which they continued to fortify, and strengthened with a number of pieces of cannon.

The marshal, by occupying the road of Abow, had, at the same time, wholly cut off the communication of the Swedes with the *Terra firma*: they had, however, for some time, the sea open to them: but, at length, the Russian fleet appeared in the Offing; and as that of Sweden had suffered extremely by illness during the whole campaign, more than half of the crews being sick, finding itself in no condition to act, it made off, and got into Carlscrona. Admiral Mishakow, who had remained in inaction as long as he could, availed himself of this retreat, and shut up the Swedish army on the side of the sea. In this situation the Swedes remained fifteen days longer. They had had time to fortify well their post, and, at length, entered into negociation.

Count

Count Lewenhaupt and lieutenant-general Buddenbrog had been put under an arrest, by order of their court, and carried to Stockholm, where they were tried. Major-general Bouquet, in virtue of seniority, had the command of the army. He concluded with general Lowendahl, whom the marshal had commissioned to treat with him, the following capitulation :

First, That the ten Finland regiments that were in the Swedish army should lay down their arms ; their regiments of dragoons to give up their horses to Russian commissaries, and the men to return each to his respective village. Capitulation of the Swedish army.

2dly, That all the magazines, field-pieces, and whatever arms were at Helsingfort, should be also delivered to Russian commissaries ; and that the Swedes should not be allowed to take any more provisions out of the magazines there, than would barely serve for their subsistence upon their way back to Sweden. The battering pieces to be left to the Swedes.

3dly, That the Swedish infantry should be embarked on board their gallies and transports, to be conveyed to Sweden, and that the marshal Lacy would give them *passports* for their safety on the passage.

Fourthly, That the cavalry should take the road of Torno on their return to Sweden, under the escort of a Russian captain, and sixty hussars.

All the articles of this capitulation were faithfully executed. The Finlanders, after having delivered up their horses and arms, returned home very well satisfied at their not being obliged to serve during a war, in which there had been hitherto nothing but misfortunes.

When

MEMOIRS OF RUSSIA.

When the Swedish army capitulated, it was near seventeen thousand strong, and all the Russian forces that Lacy had at that time under his command, did not out-number the enemy by five hundred. The garrisons of Fredericsham and Borgo, the various detachments they had been obliged to make, and sickness, had reduced the Russian army to one half, so that there were two to one odds, that if the Swedes had not submitted to those ignominious conditions, and the marshal had attacked them, the Russians would have been beaten, considering the situation of their camp, which they had had full time to fortify.

In short, the whole tenor of the Swedish conduct during the war was so singular, and so contrary to usual practice, that posterity will hardly credit it.

When the states had resolved on the war, count Lewenhaupt was chosen for the command of the army, with all the power necessary for a commander in chief. But scarce was the Queen dead, when there was, at the army, a council of war established, in which all the head officers of the regiments had a seat, and all the affairs were debated and decided by a majority; nor had the commander in chief any more than his own single vote like the rest. It was even often found necessary to send the deliberations of the council of war to Sweden, and to wait the decisions of the King and council on the objects of reference. The feuds and dissensions among the generals of the army were so great, that it was enough that one was of an opinion, for another to be of a contrary one. To all this was added, another untoward incident: a diet being called at Stockholm to elect a successor to the crown, a number of officers quitted their corps to assist at it, and to take care of their affairs, or rather to increase their respective parties, and counterbalance the opposite ones. In short, so great was the confusion

in

in the Swedish army, that the best general in the world could scarce have done the least good with it.

After the departure of the Swedes, all Finland was thus become subject to the Russian empire, and the army had now nothing more to do than to go into winter-quarters.

General Keith was sent to Abow, the capital of Finland, in quality of governor of the whole. A sufficient body of troops was left with him to secure this conquest. Sixteen gallies and two prahms were ordered to remain at Helsingfort, and five gallies at Fredericsham, to guard the coasts for the spring, till the arrival of the fleet. The rest of the army returned home, as marshal Lacy did soon afterwards to the court, when it came back to Peterburgh.

While the Russian army was making this successful campaign in Finland, the court had been to Moscow, where the Empress had the ceremony of her coronation performed.

Sweden had made several proposals of peace before the commencement of the operations of war. Lewenhaupt had caused colonel Lagencrantz to take a journey to Moscow, as I have before noted. He had accepted all the proposals that were made to him; but as they appeared too hard upon the Swedes, the senate refused to ratify them, and Lagencrantz was put under arrest.

The states of Sweden sent the baron de Nolcken in his room, with fresh proposals, who did not succeed better in his negotiation than his predecessor. The Empress, piqued at the exorbitant pretensions set up by the Swedes at the beginning of her reign, would not grant them a peace but on the condition of their ceding to her a part of Finland. And as, besides, there was information, that Nolcken had

1743.



Account of what happened remarkable at court in the year 1742.

1743. been too free in his talk, having made some disrespectful reflexions on the Empress, and even said that there ought to be a new revolution in favor of the duke of Holstein, he had orders to depart as soon as possible.

The duke of Holstein is elected successor to the crown of Sweden.

The duke of Holstein, who had been declared Grand-Duke of Russia, and the lawful presumptive heir of the Empire, was also elected successor to the kingdom of Sweden, by the states assembled at Stockholm to hold a diet. They were in hopes of obtaining the sooner a peace by this step. Three deputies were sent to the court of Russia to notify this election, and to request of the duke to repair to his kingdom. Those in charge with this commission were, the count Bond, who had formerly long resided at Petersburg, in quality of minister of the duke of Holstein, baron Hamilton and baron Schaffer. They had their audience of the Grand-Duke when the court was returned from Petersburg, but his Imperial Highness, preferring the Empire of Russia to the kingdom of Sweden, thanked them for their good will; and, after they had remained some days at Petersburg, they returned to Sweden.

Arrangements for the peace.

It was in the month of December that the court returned to Petersburg. At length, they began to think seriously of a peace, and the congress was fixed at Abow. The court of Russia sent the generals Romantzow and Louberas in quality of plenipotentiary-ministers: those on the part of Sweden were, the senator baron de Cedercreutz, and baron Nolcken, secretary of state. The conferences began in March 1743, but the peace was not concluded till five months after, as will be seen in its place.

After the court of Petersburg had taken its measures for restoring tranquillity, its next care was, the necessary arrangements for continuing the war

war with more warmth than ever, and for compelling Sweden, sword in hand, to subscribe to every thing that Russia should exact from her.

1743.
Arrangements for the war.

All the regiments had orders to prepare early their field-equipage, and to hold themselves in readiness for marching at the first warning; and, as after the late prosperous campaign, there was no longer reason to be afraid of any descents the Swedes could make on their coasts, it was resolved, that their fleets of ships and gallies should act with more vigor; that there should be as much infantry as possible embarked in the gallies; and that, to augment the marine force, there should be the greatest diligence used in the docks of Petersburg.

It being then determined to begin the campaign early, towards the latter end of March, the regiments the most distant from Petersburg, and who had passed the preceding campaign in Livonia, had orders to repair to this capital, to be embarked there.

This arrangement could not, however, be completed before the 14th of May, when all the forces designed for embarkation were on board the gallies. The troops had received two months provisions; the one half in biscuit, the other in flour.

Embarkation on the gallies.
Opening of the campaign.

The Empress went on board marshal Lacy's gally, where she assisted at divine service, according to the Greek ritual; after which she made him a present of a ring of great value, and of a small golden cross, inclosing some relicks; and embracing him, wished him a happy campaign. She went to her palace, from the windows of which she saw the gallies move off in a line, who gave her a royal salute as they passed.

May 15, This squadron arrived at Cronstadt, and found the fleet of men of war in the road. The

1743. gallies entered the port, and staid there the 16th and 17th, on account of the contrary winds.

May 18, The wind having changed, they came out of port into the road, where they formed into a line of battle, and anchored. The Empress arrived from Peterburgh, and went on board the admiral's ship, where she had a long conversation with marshal Lacy, and the admiral, count Gollowin, after which she landed and dined at Cronstadt, and returned the same day to Peterhoff.

The fleet of men of war, which the Russians put to sea this year, consisted of seventeen ships of the line, and six frigates; it was commanded by the admiral count Gollowin, who hoisted his flag on board the Great Anne, which carried a hundred and ten guns.

The Empress had been obliged to reduce three regiments of infantry, for the same purpose as before, to augment the compliments of the ships.

The fleet of gallies that went out of Cronstadt consisted of thirty-four gallies, and seventy cantchibasses, a kind of small Turkish vessels, that may each contain as far as a crew of fourscore men, and a month's provision for them.

The generals who commanded this squadron under the marshal Lacy, were, the general Lewaschew, the lieutenant-generals Brilly and count Soltikoff; the major-generals Wedel, Lapouschin, and Stuart: there were embarked on it nine regiments of infantry, and eight companies of grenadiers of the regiments of Wybourg, Peterburgh, and Cronstadt. There were also put on board two hundred cossacks of the Don, with their horses, to serve occasionally for incursions into the enemy's country.

The

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The marshal divided his fleet into three squadrons. The van, which hoisted a blue flag, was commanded by general Lewaschew, lieutenant-general Brilly, and major-general Wedel, and consisted of three regiments of foot, and three companies of grenadiers. Marshal Lacy, in the center, carried a white flag, having with him major-general Lapouschin, three regiments of foot, and two companies of grenadiers. The rear-division, commanded by count Soltikoff and major-general Stuart, carried the red flag, and had on board three regiments of foot, and three companies of grenadiers.

It was this fleet that marshal Lacy put into motion on the 19th of May, to make towards the Swedish provinces: but as Russia meant, in this campaign, to act with all the maritime forces she could muster, they continued at Peterburgh to build more gallies; and when they were finished, more troops were embarked in them, which joined the army, as will be shewn in its place.

On the side of Sweden, there were also some preparatory arrangements made. A body of troops was assembled at Torno, with which it was intended to invade Finland, Lieutenant-general Stoffeln was opposed to them, with a large body of dragoons and cossacks, who could not serve in the gallies. He managed so well as to keep such a check on the enemy, that during the whole campaign they durst not attempt any thing considerable.

Arrangements of the Swedes.

The Swedish fleet can get out of its ports a month sooner than that of Russia, and had, accordingly, already put to sea by the beginning of April. The Swedes made several little descents on Finland, and on the isle of Aland, where they carried off some Russian guards and escorts, and burnt a part of the timber which general Keith had caused to be prepared for the building some gallies. He had already

1743. ready made fix be put on the stocks at Abow, which were all of them finished in the month of July.

Arrange-
ments of
general
Keith.

General Keith, wanting to hinder the enemy from making any great progress, sent an order to lieutenant-general Chrouschew and to major-general Bratke, to embark as soon as possible, with the regiments they had at Helsingfort, and at Frederichsham, on the twenty-one gallies which had been left there the preceding year.

I shall place hereafter what Keith executed with the troops under his orders, and proceed immediately to what passed most remarkable in the fleet of the marshal Lacy, till its junction with that of Keith.

Operati-
ons of
marshal
Lacy.

Contrary winds had hindered Lacy from proceeding with his fleet as quick as he could have wished; and the sea towards the shore being still covered with ice, the troops suffered a great deal by the cold.

May 27, The gallies had got near to Frederichsham, where there had been established a great magazine of ammunition and forage. Two regiments were in garrison there, under the command of colonel Karkettel. The marshal ordered the sick to be sent ashore, and took in their room a hundred grenadiers of the regiments in garrison. The fleet was stopped there till the 31st, by contrary winds.

The marshal was the more vexed at this retardment, for that he had received advices from marshal Keith, that the enemy was very near him, and that not unlikely he might, in a few days, come to an engagement with the Swedish squadron.

June

June 2, Lacy's squadron arrived at Helsingfort; the passage between this town and that of Fredericsham is, in some parts, extremely narrow, not wider than eight or ten fathoms length, between rocks, so that the gallies can only go on in a line, one after another, to avoid striking every moment on the sands or rocks.

Helsingfort had no kind of fortifications, and was not even walled; the whole town consisted of about three hundred houses, tolerably well built, in the manner of that country. But the port is the very best in Finland; it can very conveniently hold a hundred and fifty ships, which may be got out and in with any wind. Before the Russians took Helsingfort, there were not so much as batteries to defend the entrance of the port: they indeed erected four, which they demolished when they restored the town.

The marshal took two hundred men of the garrison when he embarked in the gallies, supplementally, in room of the sick he left there. Colonel Breven commanded there, having two regiments of foot under him.

The troops received here flour for fifteen days more, so that the army was provided with bread till the 13th of July.

Advice came that general Keith had had an action with the Swedish gallies, and obtained the victory. This news was the more agreeable, for that the contrary had been apprehended in the army. The marshal caused the *Te Deum* to be sung upon it, on the 5th of June, in the morning, and in the afternoon proceeded with his fleet.

On coming out of the port of Helsingfort, there was stationed, for the first time in this campaign, an advanced guard of two gallies and four cantschibasses. The wind was come very fair, and the fleet

1713. fleet made above sixteen French leagues of way in less than six hours time. Towards the evening, the gallies got to a place called Parkala, where there is a good port formed by nature, that might very well contain as far as a hundred gallies.

June 6, The fleet, in the course of the morning, made good twelve French leagues, as far as Barrafound. In the way to it, there is a pass of about fifteen hundred paces in length, so extremely narrow, that it is with great difficulty a single galley can be got through, without striking upon the rocks. In the afternoon, they advanced ten leagues farther to Swart-ouva, where the marshal had intelligence that the Swedish fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, ships of the line and frigates, were stationed near Hangouth, to hinder marshal Lacy's gallies from passing on and joining those of Keith. Lacy, however, kept on his course with his fleet for five leagues farther, to Tweermunde, which is but four leagues distant from Hangouth, and from which they could distinctly see the Swedish fleet at anchor there.

Marshal Lacy, accompanied by all the generals, went to reconnoitre the fleet. They observed that two of the ships were stationed exactly in the way of the gallies, if they held on their course. The sea near Hangouth has depth enough, as the ships of the greatest burthen may lie close to the shore.

June 8, A grand council of war was held, to consider of all possible expedients for obliging the enemy to abandon the advantageous position they were occupying, and could hit upon none. At length, it was resolved to wait for the Russian fleet, and see whether they could not, by an engagement, force the Swedes to leave a free passage. Towards the evening, M. de Gollowin, a captain of the fleet, arrived, and brought advice to the marshal, that the admiral Gollowin, with the Russian fleet, was not at above ten leagues distance from the enemy, and

was

was making dispositions to attack them as soon as circumstances would permit, and a good occasion should offer. But this good occasion never came, and the gallies remained in the same place till the 18th of June. The marshal grew terribly tired with this uneasy situation. He sent repeated orders to count Gollowin to attack the Swedes, without the other's obeying him. The admiral was continually finding new excuses to avoid coming to an engagement. One of the reasons he alledged was, that in the regulations of the marine, by Peter I. it was ordered, that the Russian fleet was not to give battle to the Swedes, unless with three Russian ships to two of the Swedes; and as they had not at present more than seventeen against twelve, there was one short of the number prescribed.

Councils of war were frequently assembled; the generals went every day to the neighbouring islands to reconnoitre the enemy, without being the forwarder for it. The two fleets of ships were at anchor at the distance of two leagues from each other. That of Sweden lay between the Russian ships and the gallies. The marshal, from time to time, made some motions with his gallies, but all to no purpose.

During the stay that the gallies made at Tweermunde, the army received a reinforcement of five regiments of foot, which major-general Karaoulow brought on board fourteen gallies, and eighteen cantschibasses, newly built at Petersburg. So that after this junction, the fleet under the marshal consisted of forty-eight gallies and ninety-eight cantschibasses. The new-comers were distributed among the three squadrons.

June 18, In the morning, the marshal, at the requisition of admiral Gollowin sent fourteen cantschibasses to the Russian fleet. The admiral wanted, it seems, to take the soldiers out of them, to strengthen the crews of his ships, after which, as

The Swedes quit their station near Hangouth.

he

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he said, he was to attack the enemy. As soon as the Swedish fleet saw this motion of the cantschibasses, it weighed anchor, and got under sail, to hinder the cantschibasses from joining the ships. The Russian fleet did the same, and both stood off to seaward, and it was then hoped that there would be a naval engagement. But neither party had any stomach for fighting. There were only a few guns fired on each side, that decided nothing, and night coming on, both fleets separated without either's having any cause to boast of the advantage. That of the Russians set sail for Hochland, an island not far from Revel, where it remained very peaceably till the conclusion of the peace, and that of the Swedes sailed for Carlscrona, where they refreshed themselves from all the fatigues they had undergone.

Mean while, Lacy, seeing that the two ships which had been stationed precisely athwart the pass near Hangouth, had quitted that position, did not let a moment escape him for taking the benefit of the enemy's removal; and giving the signal for departure, got on happily with his gallies, and doubled the cape of Hangouth.

Towards evening, there was a great fog, that entirely concealed his motion from the enemy's ships, which the Russians could no longer have seen but at a great distance.

June 23, The marshal arrived with the fleet at Souttonge, where he found general Keith with his squadron advantageously posted.

Keith gave the marshal a narrative of the operations of his squadron, of which I here subjoin an abstract.

May 17, General Keith received advice from lieutenant-general Chroutschow, that he had embarked with his men on the sixteen gallies at Helsing-

Helsingfort, and was arrived with his squadron and the two prahms off Hangouth. Upon this, the general immediately left Abow, and on the 17th joined those gallies to the north of Hangouth. The same day, he held a council of war, at which were present the principal officers of the marine and of the regiments. It was there unanimously resolved, that since they had a force equal to that of the enemy, they should seek them out, and give them battle as soon as possible, nor so much as wait for major-general Bratke, who had not as yet joined them with the five gallies from Fredericsham.

The order was thereon given out to prepare for the engagement, and to be ready for proceeding as soon as the signal should be made. West north-west of them, they heard the evening gun of the enemy, who might be about four leagues distance.

May 18, General Keith, with his gallies, left Hangouth; the weather calm, so that he did not get on much, being obliged to have the prahms towed by the gallies as they rowed; besides which, it was necessary to proceed constantly with great caution, upon account of the rocks and shallows in several places of that coast. One of the prahms struck upon a rock, and it took up a great deal of time to get her off. Towards the evening, the squadron came to an anchor out at sea, not having advanced that day above a Swedish mile *, or much about two French leagues.

In the evening there was heard the report of two guns; and a Swedish brigantine was seen to cruise about a mile off the Russian gallies.

* There are ten Swedish miles to a degree.

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May 19, The squadron proceeded in the morning, with a fair wind, but as they were still obliged to tow the prahms, it did not much forward them. At eight, the galley of the van-guard made a signal of seeing the enemy. The general, in his galley, went to reconnoitre them. He viewed them at anchor, about a mile's distance from him, and gave a signal for the whole squadron to come up; but, when he had got within half a mile of them, they fet sail, and passed between two islands, by a channel, in which there was not water enough for the prahms, so that he was obliged to take to the left, and turn the island, to come at the enemy. But the wind having suddenly shifted to the north-west, blew so hard, that there was no towing the prahms, so that the general came to an anchor near Slitis-chapel.

May 20, The contrary wind continued till noon, when it fell calm. The squadron weighed anchor; but had scarce made a league's way, when the wind came on again directly in their teeth. This obliged the general to make in closer to the land, where, in six long-boats, they sent ashore a detachment of a hundred men, to get positive intelligence of the enemy, and to seek for pilots; those whom they had hitherto had being so much at the end of their knowledge, that they could not take charge any farther than where they then were; and it is impossible to get on a step among those rocks without the hazard of running foul of them every moment, if one had not people of the country who are acquainted with the coast.

May 21, The squadron weighed anchor at three in the morning; the weather calm, and, at noon, arrived at Youngfernfound, which is an extremely narrow pass between two islands. The long-boats rejoined there the fleet, but without having found any pilots; all the villages having been deserted by the inhabitants. The men brought word, that
on

on coming out of Youngfern-sound, they had seen a Swedish double-sloop, which had retreated at their approach.

Towards the evening, a long-boat of the enemy was seen cruizing about a mile off from the vanguard.

May 22, Very early in the morning, the squadron was under weigh, the weather rather calm, and before noon had got on three miles; but a contrary wind springing up, obliged them to come to an anchor. Some long-boats were again sent to reconnoitre, and to look for pilots. One of them brought off a Swedish gunner, who had been, by neglect, left upon an island. He declared that the enemy's squadron consisted of fifteen gallies and as many *aspins*, (light vessels that carry ten guns) with a double sloop; that they expected, in a few days, a reinforcement of two gallies and one prahm; that there were, moreover, fitting out in Sweden, eight more gallies, which might be on the way.

The other boats which returned in the evening brought advice, that they had seen a galley of the enemy's a mile from the fleet, which retreated at their approach.

May 29, The general gave fresh order for the gallies to make every thing clear, and ready for engaging. In the morning, six long-boats and a can-schibafs were sent to reconnoitre the enemy, and found the passes.

At noon, the squadron was under weigh, and had scarce got on half a league before they saw the enemy giving chace to the boats, with a galley and two double-sloops. The gallies of the advanced-guards plied their oars briskly to sustain them, which the enemy seeing, retreated under an island.

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The squadron could not make much way, the wind being contrary.

They discovered the Swedish vanguard, consisting of three gallies and some small boats. The general detached against them four gallies, and all the long-boats: as soon as they saw them make towards them, they bore away, firing three guns for a signal to their fleet that was at anchor about a league and an half from them.

The Russian gallies took up the station that the Swedes had just quitted, and gave notice to the general that the enemy were retreating.

May 24, Advice came that the enemy were at Cordo, where they had been joined by their prahms.

May 25, Major-general Bratke arrived with the five gallies that had wintered at Fredericsham. He had suffered much by contrary winds and storms; having even lost the main-mast of his gallies.

Keith divided his fleet into three squadrons, giving the van-guard to the lieutenant-general, the rear to the major-general, reserving the centre for himself.

May 26, At break of day they saw the admiral's flag, and some masts of the other gallies, of which, however, they could not ascertain the number, as they were posted along the islands.

The general instantly gave the signal for proceeding to attack the enemy; but scarce were the anchors weighed, when they retreated towards Aland. A lieutenant of the marine was immediately detached with ten long-boats and a cantschibass, sustained by two gallies, to follow and reconnoitre the Swedes. He reported, on his return, that he had seen seventeen gallies, one half-galley, one galliot, and

and two smacks, fitted for war; that the admiral-galley was in the rear, plying the oars, on account of the contrary wind. 1743.

The Russian squadron took up its station near a village called Corpo: the islands thereabouts form a very good harbor, where the gallies might lie sheltered from any storm. Engage-ment near Corpo.

Keith learnt from the inhabitants along the coast, and from the spies, that the enemy were waiting for a great reinforcement; that the vice-admiral Falkengron, who commanded their gallies, had a positive order to attack him: as then the contrary winds and storms, for several days together, did not allow Keith to quit the station where he then was, he made all the necessary dispositions for a good defence.

The two prahms were posted before the mouth of the harbor, and a battery of four guns was raised on the right of it, the better to defend the entrance.

He remained in this situation till the 29th, when the centinels of the advanced guard, who were posted on the top of the rocks, gave notice that the enemy's fleet was in motion. The general, upon this, went himself upon an eminence to reconnoitre the procedure of the enemy. He saw that the Swedish gallies were coming against him in three lines. He ordered the alarm to be beaten, and drew up his gallies in order of battle, according as the situation would allow him. At eleven in the morning, the enemy formed themselves into one line, over against the Russians, at about fifteen hundred fathoms distance, and there came to an anchor.

May 30, The fleets remained in the same situation, it not being possible to attempt any the least thing that day for the bad weather and storms.

May

1743.

May 31, The wind was much abated. They then saw the Swedish gallies coming out from behind the islands, where they had, on the preceding day, taken shelter from the storm. At noon, some signals were made with rockets from the Swedish prahm; from which same prahm, a few minutes afterwards, some guns were fired by way of trying the reach of their shot. The balls fell near the land-battery, (which was about a hundred fathoms forwarder than the Russian prahms) but as they did not reach the vessels, the Swedish admiral ordered her to be towed by boats. At three in the afternoon, the whole Swedish fleet, consisting of eighteen gallies, one prahm, and several small vessels, were seen to advance, on a line, towards the mouth of the harbor. At four, they were not at above a good cannon-shot distance. The officers, who commanded on board the Russian prahms, entreated leave of the general to fire upon them, but he positively forbad them, not intending that a single gun should be fired till the enemy was within musket-shot. But when, the minute afterwards, he saw that the Swedish prahm was coming to an anchor, and preparing to present them its broadside, he ordered two guns to be fired from the upper tire of the prahms; one of the shot from which passed over the Swedish prahm, and the other struck it on the poop. Upon this trial, Keith commanded all the batteries to fire upon the enemy. Part of his own gallies he ordered to fall astern, as there was not room enough for them to act. He himself took his post near the land-battery, whence he could the better reconnoitre the motions of the enemy; the battery being, as I have before observed, nearer to the enemy by a hundred fathom than were the vessels.

The

The Swedes, who were formed into a line of battle before the mouth of the harbor, were at liberty to employ the fire of their whole fleet against the Russians, whereas these could only bring to bear upon them the guns of the two prahms and three gallies. However, after two hours smart firing on each side, the Swedish admiral's galley was obliged to retreat from out of the line, and bear away for shelter at the back of an island that was on its right. Soon after their prahm did the same, behind an island on its left. The center stood it some time longer, but having now the whole fire to bear, which it had before shared with the prahm, they also retreated.

At seven in the evening, the firing was totally ceased. Keith would not have failed of pursuing the enemy, if the wind had not blown right ahead into the mouth of the harbor, so that it was impossible to get out. Some armed boats and a cantchibass were sent to give chase to the small vessels that were yet hovering about there dispersedly.

The Russians, in this action, had one officer and six soldiers or marines killed, and eight wounded.

June 1, At break of day, news came that the enemy had, in the night, made an absolute retreat, and were already out of sight. Upon this, two long-boats were detached to get further intelligence about them, and returned with advice, that they had seen them at anchor near Rocksheera, about five miles from the place of action. The whole day was employed in repairing the prahms which had received several shot between wind and water. There was also a necessity for refitting two of the gallies which had received much damage, one especially, having sprung a great leak, by the concussion of the number of guns it had fired.

The town of Abow, where the ministers were assembled for the congress, is not above seven or

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eight miles distant from the village of Corpo, so that the report of every gun that was fired by the combatants might be plainly enough heard, which must naturally give great anxiety to the ministers on both sides, each being between hope and fear of the issue of the engagement. Keith kept them twenty-four hours longer than he needed in this irksome suspense : upon which, the Swedish plenipotentiaries, not conceiving it at all probable that the Russian general would have so long kept back the news of the Swedish defeat, began to sing the hymn of victory, when Keith's aid-de-camp arrived with a circumstantial account of the combat.

June 3, The general held a council of war, in which it was resolved to pursue the enemy as soon as the damaged gallies were refitted, and attack them the very first opportunity. In those waters there was found an anchor, with fifty fathoms of cable, which the enemy had cut on the day of battle.

June 4, Every thing being in order again, Keith, with his gallies, got under weigh, and having proceeded about three miles, there was heard the report of a gun from the Swedish fleet, which was judged to be about two miles off. Two hours afterwards, there were two guns more heard, very nigh, and presently the Swedish fleet was discovered at anchor, on the back of an island, and about a league off from the Russians. The general instantly gave the signal of attack, and the three divisions or squadrons drew up in order of battle; but while they were forming, the enemy set sail, and bore away. The Russian fleet crouded sail to come up with them; but, after having got on about a league, it arrived at a place where there were not more than eleven feet water, so that the prahms being above that draught, were obliged to come to an anchor; and the gallies, keeping their order, got into a very
conve-

convenient harbor, formed by the islands. The place is called Soutonga.

There was the more reason for the Russians to be surprized at the retreat of the Swedes, as it was known that the very day after the action they had been reinforced by a frigate and some gallies, so that their fleet was not only equal but superior to that of Russia. Some time afterwards it came out, that it was the small victualling boats of the Russians that had been the occasion of their panic, for the weather being fair, all that small craft having spread their canvases, and kept following the fleet, the enemy, who saw the whole sea covered with sails, imagined to themselves that marshal Lacy with his fleet had joined Keith, and that consequently themselves were too weak to hazard a fresh engagement.

Keith having surveyed the situation of the place where he had posted himself with his gallies, judged it so advantageous, that he determined to fortify it, and wait there the junction of the marshal.

He had, accordingly, seven batteries built there, of four or five guns each, to defend the different entrances of the port.

June 8, The weather being fair, and favorable for the prahms getting over the shallows; some boats took them in tow and brought them safe to that mouth of the harbor which faced the enemy, and there they were stationed.

It was in this situation that Keith remained till the arrival of marshal Lacy.

Mean while, to keep the enemy in awe, and to make them believe he was reinforced, he made a galliot, which had brought from Abow provisions for the troops, hoist a broad pendant, such as the men of war carry. He also barred the entrance into the harbor on the left, by a triple cable, to keep out the enemy on that side. In short, he made the

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best dispositions possible for giving the Swedes a good reception, in case of their having a stomach to return to the attack.

The Swedes, who were not above three quarters of a mile distance from them, raised also, on their part, several batteries on the islands, behind which they had posted themselves. From time to time too, they made motions as if they would return to the attack, but without ever attempting any thing.

To deprive the Russians of all means of intelligence about them, they had ordered the inhabitants to retire into Sweden. Some of them had obeyed, but the greatest part, especially those of Aland, had only quitted their houses, and taken refuge in the woods.

Sequel of
Marshal
Lacy's
operations.

Marshal Lacy arrived on the 23d of June with his fleet at Soutonga, as I have above observed. At four in the evening, the advanced guard gave notice that the enemy's fleet had weighed anchor, and was making off. The marshal ordered Keith to proceed with his squadron, and posted himself in the station that the enemy had quitted.

June 24, Marshal Lacy followed him with his fleet.

June 25, He went with the generals of the army to reconnoitre the islands ahead. They found on one of them a soldier, who had been, through negligence, left behind. He shewed them from a hill the enemy's fleet, at two leagues distance. Some of the vessels were at anchor, some were already under sail. But from that day forward, there was no vessel of the enemy's to be seen, for their galleys returned strait to Stockholm, where they arrived very opportunely to appease the revolt of the Dalecarlians, of which I shall soon have occasion to make farther mention.

The

The Russian gallies advanced that day as far as Degerly, one of the islands near Aland.

June 28, A council of war was held, in which it was resolved to proceed to Rouden-hamm, which is the last island of the Scheers of Finland, and with the first fair wind to stand for the coast of Sweden, and there make descents.

Major-general Bratke was detached with six battalions, upon twelve gallies, and some cantschibasses, to escort several vessels loaded with victualling for Esther-Bothnia, for the troops there, under the command of lieutenant-general Stoffeln, provisions being extremely scarce in those parts. The Swedes had been actually obliged to quit them for want of subsistence, and the Russians could hardly maintain themselves there.

June 27, and 28, It blew so hard, that the fleet could not stir from where it lay. Some cantschibasses and boats, which had been sent on the lookout, returned with the report, that they had seen no more of the enemy's fleet, which had bore away for the coast of Sweden.

June 29, The marshal had already given the signal for getting under weigh, when he received letters from the Russian ministers at the congress of Abow, by which it was notified to him, that the preliminaries of peace had been signed the day before, and that they had agreed upon an armistice; so that they insinuated to the marshal not to undertake any thing further. Upon this, the gallies returned to the same station which they had just quitted, where they remained till the latter end of August, till they made the best of their way back to Russia.

Preliminaries of the peace.

It is now time I should say something of the actual situation of affairs in Sweden.

The diet had continued a year, and was principally taken up with electing a successor to the crown.

Several

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Situation
of things
in Sweden.

Several competitors had declared themselves, to wit, the Prince Royal of Denmark, the Prince of Holstein, Bishop of Lubeck, Prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, and the Duke of Deux-ponts. Each of these Princes had his party, but the two strongest were that of the Prince of Holstein, backed as he was by Russia, and that of the Prince Royal of Denmark, who could give great succours to Sweden in its war against Russia, consequently his party was the most numerous. It had even been decided, that if the peace was not made before the 4th of July, he should, on that day, be declared hereditary Prince of Sweden. This it was that greatly contributed to the conclusion of the preliminaries at the congress of Abo; but as a great deal of time had been wasted in contestations, there remained no more than six days of the term prefixed when the articles were signed. Lieutenant-colonel Lingen, in the Swedish service, was sent with this news to Stockholm; and as he was particularly charged not to lose a moment, he took the shortest way, which was to cross the isle of Aland; but when he was landed there, he found that all the inhabitants had left their houses, and were fled to the woods, so that he was obliged to walk several leagues afoot along shore. At length, he met with an old man, who had an old crazy boat, full of leaks. Having no time to lose in looking out for another, he was forced to resolve upon making use of that, at the risque of drowning. The colonel then, with his servant and the old man, got all three into the boat; two of them were obliged to row, while the third had nothing to do but to keep baling the water out with his hat, and even with that he could scarce keep it free. Lingen even employed some shirts he had in his portmanteau to cram into the leaks; in short, they had the luck to get safe to Sweden on the very day that they were to proceed to the election of the Prince of Denmark.

The

1743.

The wretched boat that had served to bring them from Aland to the coast of Sweden, is kept to this day at Stockholm, and shewn as a curiosity. Certain it is, that it may be considered as a kind of miracle, the good fortune Lingen had, to make a passage of twelve Swedish miles (seventy-two English) over the sea, in a boat on which few in the world would have ventured to cross the narrowest river.

The arrival of colonel Lingen at Stockholm changed the whole face of affairs in Sweden. The Russians, who had been the mortal enemies of the Swedes, were now become their friends, their allies, their support; and the king of Denmark, whose son they had so recently proposed to seat upon the throne, after the death of their King, was now held their greatest enemy. The fleet of Russian galleys, who had begun the campaign on a project to ruin the coasts of Sweden, was obliged to stay for some time in its frontiers, to quiet the domestic disturbances of that country, and to be at hand to assist the Swedes in case they were attacked by Denmark.

The King of Denmark being informed that a great party opposed the election of the Prince his son, managed so as to engage in his interest several Swedish provinces. That of Dalecarlia was the first that declared itself; the peasants of which, some thousands strong, headed by one Scheding, (who had been formerly a soldier in the service of Russia) and by de Wrangen, who was major of the Dalecarlian regiment, marched strait to Stockholm, where they wanted to give law. There was a regiment of guards encamped before the town, of which it was designed to make use, for reducing these revolvers to reason, but the soldiers refused to act in the least against their countrymen, and even suffered them to take their cannon from them without any resistance.

Intestine
commoti-
ons in
Sweden.

The

1743.

The King and several senators went out to them, to try to appease them, but they would not hear of any composition: in short, they were promised all the satisfaction they could desire, and they were suffered to enter the town, where they were dispersed into different quarters, which was the cause of their misfortunes. Some days after, there was a great tumult in the town, and count Alderfeldt, attempting to harangue and appease the Dalecarlians, was killed. The guards were again commanded to march against the seditious, but the soldiers refused to obey. By singular good fortune, the gallies came in that day into the port of Stockholm; the troops were immediately landed, who, knowing nothing of what had passed, made no difficulty of going against, and dispersing the revolted peasants. The ringleaders were seized; Scheding had his head cut off; Wrangel was degraded from his rank and nobility, and condemned to a perpetual imprisonment. The others returned home.

If this affair had not been thus early quashed, the revolt would have become general; the provinces of Upland, Surmaland, Smoland, and Scania, had been on the point of also declaring themselves; but as the first rising had succeeded so ill, the others took care not to break out. However, the half of Sweden remained for a long time in the interest of the King of Denmark. This went so far, that when general Keith was arrived some little time afterwards at Stockholm, one of his aid-de-camps, whom he sent with some special dispatches as a courier, being taken for a Danish officer, because he wore a red coat, the postmaster desired him to be on his guard against the contrary party.

Conclu-
sion of the
peace.

The articles of the peace concluded at Abow, between Russia and Sweden, contained, in substance, that Sweden should cede to Russia, in perpetuity, the province of Kiminagor, and the district
of

of Uyslet in the province of Savalax in Finland ; that the river Kymen should form the frontier that was to be regulated by commissaries appointed by the two courts.

The settling the affair of the frontier has been labored at for several years successively, but without being finished.

The Prince of Holstein, Bishop of Lubeck, was The elected successor to the kingdom of Sweden, for Prince himself and his descendants. It was the court of of Hol- Russia that had principally contributed to carry the stein Lu- election, and consequently assumed it as a right to beck cho- sen suc- intermeddle more than ever in the affairs of Swe- cessor. den, and even to prescribe laws to that kingdom ; but the Swedes soon freed themselves from this grievance, and the misunderstandings began afresh before a twelvemonth was past.

After the peace had been published at the army, the marshal had orders to send back the troops that were in Finland, and general Keith was dispatched to Abo to regulate their march.

Lieutenant-general Stoffeln, who had advanced with the body of troops under his command as far as Oulo, had orders to return, and little by little the regiments took their way back to Russia. But before they quitted Finland, they took care to squeeze from it every thing they possibly could ; the intention of the court being, to ruin totally that province, and to reduce it, notwithstanding the peace, into so wretched a condition, as not to be able of a long time to hold up its head again ; the generals had even repeated orders not to fail of attending to this point. The Empress, however, feigning a desire of restoring a good harmony with her neighbours, ordered some thousands of bushels of grain out of the magazines, which had been established in Finland, to be distributed to the peasants of Finland for sowing their grounds.

The

MEMOIRS OF RUSSIA.

The disturbances from the Dalecarlians being appeased, it was imagined that Sweden had recovered its tranquillity, and marshal Lacy had orders from the court to return with the gallies to Peterburgh. Towards the latter end of August he quitted the island of Degarby, where his army had lain two months.

On the 14th of September, the fleet of gallies arrived at a place called Berosowa-Ostrow, (in English, *Birch-island*) at ninety wersts, or twenty-three leagues distance from Petersburgh.

Count Lacy dispatched thence his aid-de-camp to court for orders, when and in what manner he should, with his fleet, make his entry before the capital.

September 17, The fleet suffered a severe storm, which drove six gallies ashore, that were entirely ruined; two others were greatly damaged, but no lives were lost; all the troops being ashore.

September 20, The marshal had orders to send back general Keith with thirty gallies to Helsingfort, where he was to wait for fresh instructions.

September 21, Keith took his departure, having on board of his squadron a regiment of grenadiers, composed of ten companies, detached from the regiments, and of nine regiments, or eighteen battalions of foot, making in all eleven thousand men.

The generals who commanded under him were, lieutenant-general count Soltikoff, and the major-generals Lapouschin and Stuart.

The Empress sent her own yatch to marshal Lacy to bring him to court. He left the command in general Lewaschew's hands, and set out for Peterburgh, where also, some days after, the fleet of gallies arrived.

The

The court caused great rejoicings to be made for the celebration of the peace. There were feasts and entertainments for several days together.

After the troops had delivered up the galleys to the admiralty, they were sent into winter-quarters.

I return to the expedition under general Keith, and to what gave occasion for it.

The revolt of the Dalecarlians had, it is true, been quelled, but the spirit of it was not entirely extinct. The King of Denmark had caused several bodies of troops to advance to the frontiers of Sweden; and as he had correspondences and partisans in many of the provinces, an invasion from him was much apprehended. This it was that induced the King and senate of Sweden to request of the court of Petersburgh a prompt aid, both to oppose the Danes, and to pacify totally the intestine commotions.

Expedition of general Keith into Sweden.

General Düring was, for this purpose, sent to Petersburgh. The court of Russia was too well pleased to give a fresh proof of its power, to neglect this opportunity. It was, moreover, for its interest to support the election made in favor of the Prince of Holstein. Accordingly, general Keith had orders to repair to Sweden. His instructions contained, in substance, that he was to make the best of his way with all possible diligence, with the eleven thousand men under his command, to that kingdom, where he was to be solely dependent for his orders on the King, to whom only he was to make the immediate reports of his *corps*. As Russia had no minister at that court, he was, at the same time, to exercise the functions of that office.

He

1743.

He suffered much in his passage with the troops under his orders, from the cold and storms he had to undergo before he reached the coasts of Sweden; and the Russian gallies, which never used to keep the sea later than the beginning of September, were obliged to remain on it till the latter end of November.

Any other than general Keith would hardly have been able to execute this expedition. He had not only to struggle with the violence of the storms, and the piercingness of the cold, but also with the officers of the marine, who were often representing to him the impossibility of proceeding in so severe a season. But Keith, who had served a long time in Spain, where he had seen that the gallies in that country could keep the sea in all weathers, and who, besides, knew better than any of the officers that served in that squadron, how much could be done with this part of the fleet in any climate, with a good will, continued to be single in his opinion for proceeding. He received, indeed, the representations of others, made them be given him in writing, put them into his pocket without reading them, and gave the signal for sailing on. In this manner it was, that on the 4th of November he arrived on the coast of Sweden, at Fahr mound. In the port, he left the gallies, and repaired to Stockholm, where he received the orders for the distribution of his troops into winter-quarters, to which lieutenant-general count Soltikoff was to take them; but as those quarters were assigned along the coast, in Sudermania and Easter-Gothia, and the regiments had no horses to convey their baggage, the trouble and expence of furnishing carriages for which, it was wished to spare the country; the gallies were also appointed for this service; but the season was so

very

very harsh, they could not get far, and the regiments were, however, forced to stay on board till the beginning of December, when they were landed at Staake, a little harbor, four miles distant from Stockholm. The country was then obliged to furnish carriages, and the troops marched into the quarters assigned them. The gallies were left at Staake, with two regiments to guard them, that had their quarters in the neighbourhood.

The Russian troops remained in Sweden till the month of June 1744, when the differences between Sweden and Denmark having been by that time amicably adjusted, Mr. Keith had orders to return to Russia. His navigation back was more easy, and on the 13th of August he arrived at Revel with his fleet.

I have uninterruptedly placed, in one view, the expedition of general Keith and the affairs of Sweden, I am now to return to those of Russia.

While the Russian army was making the campaign, there was discovered at Petersburg a conspiracy undertaken against the person of the Empress. The marquis de Botta, who had been minister of the Queen of Hungary, had contributed to the carrying it on. The principal persons concerned in the plot were, Lapouschin, commissary general of the marine; and his wife, who, having been extremely connected with count Lewenwold, could not with patience see her lover languishing in exile; neither could madam Bestucheff, sister-in-law to the lord chancellor, and own sister to count Golofkin, quietly brook the misfortune of her brother; the rest were, lieutenant-colonel Lapouschin, son to the commissary; a chamberlain, called Lilienfeldt, and his wife; with some other persons of less consequence.

Conspiracy against the Empress discovered.

These

1743.

These persons had, in their assemblies, said all the ill imaginable of the Empress; they had expressed their wish of finding some one that would take the lead in the attempt of another revolution, and had entered on themselves already some steps towards it: it was even said, that they had bribed a domestic of the Empress to assassinate her; but as it is only upon hearsay that I mention this, I cannot assert it for a truth.

The marquis of Botta, who had been recalled from Russia, and sent to Berlin, was in correspondence with them. He had begun, as it was asserted, the cabal before he left Petersburg; and had made the parties concerned hope, that not only the Queen of Hungary, but the King of Prussia would second this affair. He named openly that King in all his letters, and assured them that his Prussian Majesty wished much to see the Empress dethroned, and his brother-in-law and nephew return from exile, though the King knew nothing of the matter.

The imprudence of the lieutenant-colonel Lapouschin was the cause of discovering every thing, having, in company with several officers, drank the health of the young Emperor, and said many shocking things on the conduct of the Empress. There were not wanting such, as to make their fortune, did not fail of repeating all that they had heard. A major, called Falkenberg, and one Berger, a cornet of the cuirassiers, carried the first information to count Lestock, who gave them the cue of connecting themselves more closely with Lapouschin, in order to get the whole secret out of him. The trap succeeded. All the conspirators were seized and tried. Lapouschin and his wife, his son, and madam Bestucheff, had the *knout*, their tongues cut out, and were all sent to Siberia.

This affair had like to have embroiled the courts of Vienna and Petersburg; but the Queen of Hungary

1743.

gary having disavowed all that her minister had said and done in this matter; and having gained over Bestucheff, he managed things so dexterously, that the two courts became greater friends than ever they had been. To give some satisfaction to the Empress, the marquis de Botta was recalled from Berlin, and confined in a castle for some months.

After the publication of the peace with Sweden, The it had been designed to have the troops sent into the interior parts of the Empire, and distributed among the provinces, but the affairs that came on between Sweden and Denmark had retarded the execution of this project. The greatest part of the infantry had their quarters assigned to them in the neighbourhood of Petersburg and in Livonia; and all the regiments had orders to hold themselves in readiness for marching the next spring. It is since that time that Russia maintains in Finland, in Ingria, in Livonia, and in Courland, an army of above a hundred and twenty thousand men, including the garrisons of the different places there.

troops are
quartered
in the con-
quered
provinces.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the court went to Moscow, and in February the Princess of Zerbst came there, with the Princess her daughter, whom she brought to be married to the Grand Duke.

1744.
Arrival of
the Prin-
cesses of
Zerbst at
the court
of Russia.

The Empress, who wished to see her nephew in the nuptial state, had likewise desired that he should preferably wed a German Princess. She sent orders to her minister at Berlin to open himself upon this point to the minister of Prussia. The King, upon this, offered to negotiate a match for him with the Princess of Zerbst, who, being a near relation to the Grand Duke, did not refuse so great an alliance. The affair was presently concluded. Her mother brought her to Moscow, where she embraced the Greek religion, and in 1745 was married to the Grand Duke.

Some

1744.
Affair of
the mar-
quess de
la Chetar-
die.

Some time after the arrival of the Princess of Zerbst at the court of Russia in the year 1744, the marquess de la Chetardie had an affair there that made a great noise. This minister, who, as I have precedently observed, had so great a share in the revolution in favor of the Empress, had not, without reason, flattered himself that her Majesty ought to retain a grateful sense of all that France had done for her; and, in the first months of her reign, there was great room to think that the French King's alliance would be preferred to all others. While La Chetardie staid in Russia, he was omnipotent at that court; the Empress hardly making any distinction between him and her own ministers. But when he was gone, Mons. d'Allion, who came in his room, had not dexterity enough to pursue what La Chetardie had so well begun, and the interest of France little by little fell to nothing.

It was in vain that the French flattered themselves on the conspiracy being discovered, in which the marquess de Botta had been engaged, that the court of Petersburg might be embroiled with that of Vienna. The count of Bestucheff, high-chamberlain of Russia, had, nevertheless, remained firmly persuaded, that the alliance of the house of Austria was preferable to that of France, so that he gave no heed to the proposals made by the court of Versailles, and declared himself openly against those who held for France. These, on their part, imagined things would be put on a better footing, by procuring the return of La Chetardie. They found an occasion of proposing to the Empress, that she should request it of the French King; to this she readily consented, so that La Chetardie was sent to Russia.

Both he himself, and all those of the French party at Moscow, expected no less than to see shortly after his arrival the high-chamberlain banished. La Chetardie had made himself so sure of it, that in

his

his way to Russia by Hamburgh and Copenhagen, he had spoken of it in both those places as of a thing as good as done. Bestuchef being advised of this, was extremely on his guard, cut off from La Chetardie all occasions of hurting him, and studied every means of frustrating all his designs. He set spies upon him : had all his steps watched, and intercepted his letters. In short, he knew so well how to represent effectually to the Empress the wrong she would do to herself in sacrificing him to the court of France, and that every thing he was doing for her honor, and the greater good of the Empire ; that the Empress thought herself fully convinced of the integrity of her minister, and resolved to send back La Chetardie.

One morning then, very early, general Oukaskow, adjutant-general to the Empress, went to the house of the French minister, and signified to him her Majesty's order, that he should quit his residence in two hours time. The carriages, and every thing necessary for his journey, were ready to be furnished him. A subaltern officer of the guards was given him for an escort to Livonia, where he was, moreover, detained some months. After that, he was carried almost to the frontiers, there the ribbon of St. Andrew, and the picture of the Empress, which she had given him in the time of his former ministry, were required from him ; but none of the jewels were taken that belonged to the ribbon and the picture. Since that affair, the courts of France and Russia have mutually remained in a kind of coolness.

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S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
M E M O I R S of R U S S I A.

IT may happen, that among those who shall read these Memoirs, there may be found some not well enough acquainted with Russia, and who even having heard it spoken of, or having read something of it, may, nevertheless, have formed quite another idea of it than what it really is, both as to what concerns the nation in general, and to what relates to the form of government of this Empire. This it is that has determined me to enter into some particulars, and to shew, as far as my knowledge will permit me, the changes that have been made in this country within these sixty or eighty years past.

No one will dispute Russia's being one of the most extensive states that we know of in the whole habitable world. It contains considerably more territory than all the rest of Europe put together. Its length, from the frontiers of Livonia to Kamtschatka, or nearly opposite to Japan, is above twelve thousand wersts, which are 1714 German miles, reckoning seven wersts to a mile*. Its breadth extends from the 4th degree of latitude to beyond the 70th.

Greatness
of extent
of Russia.

But then, this vast empire is very far from being so well cultivated and peopled as most of the other nations in Europe. There are several deserts from 80 to 120, and even to 200 English miles, in which there is not a living soul to be found, though some parts of these deserts are situated in a very good climate, and have the best soil that could be wished.

* About 6856 English miles.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE

True it is, that in some places there is a deficiency of wood and water; in others there is every thing that is necessary for human life, and yet are deserts, for want of inhabitants. In short, this empire could very easily afford sustenance for triple the number of people it contains. The following account may furnish some grounds of judgment on this point.

Number
of inhabi-
tants.

According to the last numbering in the years 1744 and 1745, of the people of those provinces which properly constitute Russia, there were seven millions of males, from the age of four years to that of sixty, who pay the capitation or poll-tax. Seven millions might be allowed for women, children, and old men. The Russian nobility, with their families, might be computed at five hundred thousand. The officers of the revenue and clerks of the chancery, who form a class apart, are, with their wives and children, reckoned about two hundred thousand. For Livonia, Ingwa, and Finland provinces, which are not comprehended in the capitation, there are allowed six hundred thousand souls: as for the Cossacks of the Ukrain, of the Don, of the Jaïck, as well as for the different nations of heathens that inhabit Siberia and the frontiers of Auria and Japan, they are computed at a million eight hundred thousand: the total making about eighteen millions four hundred thousand individuals.

Revenue.

Neither is the revenue which the sovereign draws from these vast dominions proportioned to their extent; they amount at most to twelve or thirteen millions of rubles, which make pretty near sixty-five millions of French livres, reckoning five livres to the ruble (not three millions sterling). I have been at a great deal of pains to come at the knowledge of the specific sums of all the different branches of receipt, in order to give a more satisfactory account

account on this head, without being able to get at any thing authentic, as the several colleges which administer the revenue keep a profound secret upon it.

The capitation is levied on none but the males, from the age of four to sixty. The inhabitants of town and country are comprehended in it. Every citizen pays a hundred and twenty copecs a year, and every peasant twenty-four *. Some years ago, the Empress Elizabeth augmented the capitation by ten copecs a head, in aid of the extraordinary expences she was obliged to be at in raising fifty new battalions.

Though these revenues appear so little in proportion to the greatness of the empire, they are, nevertheless, sufficient, not only for the common expences of the state, but for extraordinary exigences.

Peter I. found them enough for those great enterprises and new establishments which he executed in his reign. This was the easier, for that the greatest part of his ministers, and even the chancellor himself, served without any salary; and both the Russian officers and soldiers received a very small pay.

But under the Empress Anne, there was some appearance of the state's being threatened with a want of money soon. The luxury which had been introduced from the very beginning of her reign, consumed immense sums. At the same time too, the pay of all the officers was augmented, and put upon an equal footing, as I have set forth in the Memoirs. And yet for all this, there was money enough found to carry on the war with Poland and with the Turks, without the need of raising new taxes.

* According to common computation, a ruble amounts to a German crown and four gros, or five French livres, or about four and sixpence; and a hundred copecs make a ruble.

Count Munich, who was at the head of the military, made such good arrangements, that the army, which in time of peace was not used to be paid but every four months, and even that not till after the term, was paid every month before-hand: and the court had, moreover, wherewithal, to bestow gratifications as often as the troops had suffered extraordinary fatigues, or done some great action. For example: all the army that had, in 1736, served under marshal Munich in Crimea, had a gratification of four months pay; that which took Ockzakow had the same; so had the garrison which defended that place against the Turks: without mentioning the considerable presents made to the generals, and other officers, upon different occasions.

It must, however, be owned, that this could not have held on, if there had been a necessity of making two more campaigns against the Turks, the expences of that war being very considerable, as I have shewn in my relation of those campaigns.

It must also be granted, that the Russian army cannot make, for any series of years together, campaigns at a distance from their frontiers, especially in countries where the provisions and necessaries for the maintenance of the troops are dearer than in Russia, for their pay, which is sufficient for the army when it remains within the Russian territories, where every thing is comparatively very cheap, is too little on its coming into parts where every thing is at a higher price. And, accordingly, the court has been obliged to raise the pay one-half as often as it has detached a body of auxiliary troops; as when the Empress Anne, in 1735, sent eight regiments of foot to the Rhine; or Elizabeth, eleven thousand men under Keith to Sweden; and, in 1748, succours to the house of Austria against France.

It

It may, in general, be demonstrably averred, that there is a scarcity of money in Russia; nothing being more common than to pay twelve, fifteen, and even twenty per cent. interest for it.

Under the ancient Czars, the revenues were yet smaller than they are at present. It is only since Peter I. that they have augmented. The continual wars in which that Prince was engaged during his reign, and the great enterprizes executed by him, obliged him to encrease the taxes to the double of what they were before.

One of the principal reasons that render money so scarce in Russia, is, that distrustfulness of theirs, which being the predominant weakness of that nation, extending even to their nearest relations, a great many merchants, after having gained any thing of a sum in trade, bury it in places, of which they reserve to themselves alone the knowledge, and, not unfrequently, die without discovering to any one the secret; so that it is reckoned there is in Russia much more money under ground than above, otherwise that empire ought to be very rich; for, within these two hundred years, there have immense sums entered it, and little went out; except indeed, that lately, the two circumstances of luxury, and of the sending troops out of the country, occasion some outlets, which, however, are comparatively trifling. There is no nation in Europe that has any trade with Russia, of which the balance does not turn in favor of this empire.

As to trade, Russia is so admirably well situated, Trade. and has so many conveniencies for it, that few other states in Europe have the like. The immense extent of the Empire furnishes it with an incredible quantity of merchandise, and with almost every thing desirable for human life; so that if in one province there should be a want of any thing, it can be supplied by another. There are a number of navigable

SUPPLEMENT TO THE

navigable rivers, the course of which is in so advantageous a direction, that from Petersburg to the frontiers of China, there is a water-carriage for every thing to within the space of about five hundred wersts, or about two hundred and eighty English miles. This convenience much facilitates the transport of provisions and merchandise.

But even land-carriage itself is very cheap; for from Moscow to Petersburg, a distance of above four hundred English miles, the common charge, in winter, when every thing is carried on sledges by the *poud*, or weight of forty pounds, is not above eight, nine, or at most twelve copecs, which are four German gros, or a little more than half a French livre, or scarce an English sixpence.

It is on the account of this advantage, that the *inland* trade of the empire, both wholesale and retail, has been always exclusively appropriated to the Russian subjects, and that foreigners have never obtained the permission of carrying their merchandise into the interior parts of the country, nor of purchasing in the provinces Russian commodities, to be brought at their expence to the sea-ports.

According to the laws, no foreign merchant has even leave to buy, in the sea-ports, goods of another foreign merchant; he must buy them of a Russian. A foreign merchant is, however, at liberty to make contracts in any provincial or country-town; but the goods cannot be delivered to him but at a port.

The sovereigns of Russia have always carefully preserved to their subjects this commercial privilege; and when, in 1716, the English solicited a free trade at Kasan and Astracan, Peter I. chose to refuse an advantageous alliance, which he might then have concluded with that nation, rather than grant this request.

Of

Of old none but the Armenians had the liberty of transporting foreign goods from Astracan to Petersburg, there to export them to foreign countries, as also to make use of the same means of carriage back of the returns from Europe. But there are great precautions taken against their selling any thing in Russia. Their bales are carefully sealed up with many seals at their entry into the Russian ports, which they are obliged to produce unbroken at the places of exportation.

As this trade brings in a considerable revenue, and is prejudicial in nothing to the Russian subjects, there has hitherto been no obstruction to it.

Some years ago, the English, it is true, obtained a grant of liberty of trade with Persia, by the Caspian sea; but neither do they presume to sell their goods, by the way, in Russia.

The commerce of the Russians with foreigners may be considered in a twofold light; the trade by land, and the trade by sea.

By land, the Russians trade with China, the Calmucks, the Buckhars, Persia, Crimea, Turkey, Poland, Silesia, and Prussia.

For the trade by sea, there are, at present, ten ports principally used, Riga, Perno, Revel, Narva, Petersburg, Wybourg, Fredericsham, Kola, and Astracan. It is reckoned that there come into these ports, every year, from fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred sail of foreign ships.

The first treaty of commerce that ever Russia concluded was with England, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. At that time, and even until the present century, the only known port that Russia had, was Archangel. But Peter I. having conquered Livonia, Ingria, and Finland, he acquired with these provinces other ports, and having established his

his residence at Petersburg, he appointed it the staple of all the merchandise that his immense dominions may produce.

This Prince, at the first, endeavoured to induce his subjects to transport their merchandise to his new residence, by granting several privileges, and by lowering the customs on the goods they should bring to Petersburg; but never could the Russian dealers be persuaded to come into this innovation. The Emperor was at length obliged to use his absolute authority to determine them to it. In 1722, he expressly prohibited the carrying any goods to Archangel, but such as belonged to the district of that government. This ordinance raised, at first, a great outcry among the traders, both Russians and foreigners, and caused several bankruptcies; but the merchants, accustoming themselves little by little to come to Petersburg, found their account in it better than at Archangel, where the ships cannot make but one voyage a year, whereas they can make two to Petersburg; not to mention other advantages which the merchants derive from the proximity of several trading towns, and which they were formerly forced to do without, on account of the distance at which they were, in Archangel, from all the rest of Europe.

The most considerable articles of trade that Russia furnishes are, corn, leather, iron, linens, hemp, wood, pot-ash, pitch and tar, wax, honey, great quantities of furs or peltry, rhubarb, hides, caviar, isinglass, matts, &c.

In balance against these, the Russians must have from foreign countries, cloth, the finest sort of linen, spices, wine, and, in general, the articles of luxury, which constitute now a very great object; as may have been remarked in the preceding Memoirs.

During the two years in 1740 and 1741, that the baron de Mengden was at the head of trade, the

the annual profit to Russia amounted to three hundred thousand rubles, about sixty thousand pounds, exclusive of the customs. The profit might be much greater, if the Russian nation did not prefer its love of ease to the risques of navigation.

Peter I. during his reign, took all the pains imaginable to make his subjects good merchants, and to engage them not to sell any longer the merchandises produced in his dominions at second hand by foreigners, but to carry on their trade directly in goods laden on Russian bottoms to foreign countries, in the manner practised by other commercial nations.

In the beginning of this century, the Emperor made a trial of this kind. He sent a Russian merchant, called Soloviev, to Amsterdam, there to establish a Russian factory, or house of trade; and that he might succeed the better, he not only gave him several commissions of the court, but there were also granted to him great advantages on the rest of his trade to Russia. As Soloviev was really a man of parts, and had all the necessary capacity, he knew so well how to avail himself of all these circumstances, that he had, in a few years, gained a considerable capital, at the same time that his civil behaviour had won him the friendship and confidence of all the Dutch merchants. But Peter I. being in 1717 at Amsterdam, some of the great men of the court, who had taken a pique against him, because he would not satisfy the extortions of their avarice, found means to blacken him in the opinion of the Emperor, who, having caused this merchant to be carried off, had him embarked on board of a ship for Russia. This occasioned the Russian trade falling into a great decline in Holland, the dealers of Amsterdam being thereby grown afraid of trusting any Russian merchant, so that it has not been since possible to form there any solid establishment.

Peter

Peter I. would try another scheme. He resolved to procure the sale of the merchandise of his empire in those states which had no direct trade with Russia, and, for that purpose, obliged some of the most substantial merchants of his country to load considerable parcels of hemp, flax, cables and wax on vessels furnished them by the admiralty : to these he added a great quantity of iron guns, of mortars, bomb-shells, cannon-balls, and anchors, and sent all this to Bourdeaux and Cadiz, where there had been previously placed Russian consuls. But this trade succeeded so ill, that the charges of merchandise absorbed a good part of the capital, and the adventurers never saw but very little returns.

At length, this Prince flattered himself that he should inspire his subjects with a taste for trade to foreign countries, and for navigation, by publishing an edict, in which it was ordained, That if any freeman of a town would trade upon his own account, on a Russian bottom, he should have a quarter of the customs abated to him, both on exports and imports. But this produced no effect, for, during his life, there was not a merchant found to risque an undertaking upon that footing.

Under the reign of the Empress Anne, there were some Russian merchants that would try their fortune in that way, but through the ignorance of the sailors, whom they had employed to navigate their ships, they were all lost, and the greatest part of them ran ashore even in the sight of Cronstadt. This has so disgusted the Russians from adventuring at sea, that since that time, not any would hazard the projection of a voyage.

England carries on the most considerable trade in Russia, though with little profit, for that nation takes six times more goods thence than it sends there. The English own it themselves, but necessity obliges them to keep up this commerce, for they cannot

not do without some article of the Russian commodities, both for the use of their marine, and for the trade of the Indies and of Italy.

One of the great objects of the care of Peter I. ^{Manufactures.} in his commercial arrangements, was to diminish, as much as possible, the imports into his dominions. To accomplish this the better, he wanted to establish in Russia all the manufactures that are carried on in other parts of Europe. For this purpose, he engaged all sorts of workmen and artists from different nations, and allotted them considerable wages, with all the privileges they could wish. He also sent a number of subjects into foreign countries, that they might learn the various arts and trades in them. But the Emperor, especially, made a point of having good linen and good cloth made in Russia: having been told that the wool of the country was too harsh, from the sheep having mixed breed with the goats, he engaged several shepherds from Saxony and Silesia, and caused a great quantity of sheep to be brought up in those countries, which he sent into the Ukrain, to introduce there a better breed of those animals.

As to coarse linens, and table linens, they have succeeded so well, that there is not only made enough for the home consumption, and for the service of their fleet, but there is also a great quantity for exportation.

The manufactures of cloth have not had the same success, for, besides its being very bad, they have not as yet been able to make enough for clothing any the least part of their army.

There were also established some manufactures of damask, and of all sorts of silk stuffs, the workmen employed in which enjoyed great privileges and immunities.

It was also under the reign of Peter I. that the ^{Mines.} mines were begun to be worked. Dimidow, a common

common farrier, formed the first undertaking of them. This man, who had been one of the farriers to the train of artillery, had deserted, and was obliged to take refuge in the Contaisch country, where he managed so as to gain the good-will of the Calmucks to such a degree, that they permitted him to set on foot works at the copper and iron-mines there, which are extremely rich. He afterwards obtained his pardon from the court of Russia, and having preserved his interest and credit in that country, they even allowed him to fortify round the mines, so as to put himself into a state of defence against any party of enemies that might come to molest him. This establishment is, little by little, become so considerable, that a son of this Dimidow actually enjoys at present an annual revenue of a hundred thousand rubles, (20,000 l.) and that Russia, which in former times got all the iron and copper she wanted from Sweden, has now enough for her own use, and to spare, even in great abundance, for exportation.

Under the reign of Anne, the mines were considerably augmented, new ones having been discovered in Siberia. That Empress sent for baron Schomberg from Saxony, to put them into working order, and gave him the direction of them. Schomberg, who had been at the head of the mines in Saxony, was perfectly skilled in what was to be done in that way, and made the best arrangements possible; but as the court had at the same time given him a lease of them, by which he gained prodigiously, and as he ran into an expence proportionate to his profits, this his ostentatiousness, opened the eyes of the ministry, to see that they had made a bargain unconscionably advantageous to him, and in which the court had not been enough considered.

So early then as under the same Empress Anne, they began to stir up vexatious questions against him,

him, but could not as yet entirely accomplish the demolishing him. At length, under the reign of Elizabeth, his enemies found means not only to force him to give up the contract which the court had made with him, but had him taken up and confined, with a suit commenced against him. He remained above a twelvemonth in prison, and was glad at last to get his liberty, with permission to return to Saxony, abandoning all the fortune which he had acquired. In the mean while, the court avails itself of the skilful arrangements he made in the mines, and draws a considerable revenue from them.

Among the manufactures established by Peter I. ^{Fabric of arms.} that of arms is one of the most worthy of remark. Formerly, this empire had none made at home, but was obliged to have from other countries all the arms it wanted. But Peter I. having levied an army, and built a fleet, judged it indispensibly necessary to have arms fabricated in his dominions; and as the iron in them is of an excellent kind, there was nothing wanting but good armorers and gunsmiths. He caused to be engaged the best masters that could be found in other nations; gave them great salaries, and established two manufactures, one at Toula, a small town, situated at 180 wersts on the other side of Moscow, the other at Susterbeck, a little town, or rather village, about 27 wersts from Petersburg.

In these two places, every thing is so well ordered, that the *connoisseurs*, who have seen them, agree, that they are master-pieces in their kind. The whole is conducted there by water-works.

At Toula they make every thing requisite for the land-armies. The cannon and small arms are excellent, but they do not as yet excel in the cock-plates. The manufacture at Susterbeck, which was particularly designed for the supply of the marine, fell into decline during the reigns of Catherine

rine and Peter II. The best masters, whom Peter I. had procured at a vast expence from foreign countries, were dead or turned off, or dispersed. The Empress Anne, who would have the works restored, gave this in charge to Hennin, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and sent anew to engage foreign armorers and gunsmiths, under whom there were several Russians put to be instructed in the business. Hennin took all possible pains to get things in order again, but when I quitted Russia, Susterbeck had not yet recovered the state in which Peter I. had left it at his death.

This Emperor had also made several other great establishments in different places of Siberia, near the iron-mines: the most considerable is at Catherinenburgh, a new town, built in 1721. It is situated at 550 wersts from Tobolsky, in the province of Ugoria, among the mountains of Ural; the works carried on there, were chiefly of iron guns, and of anchors for the fleet, also to temper steel, and make iron into bars, &c. All the machines for these fabrics are likewise worked by water-mills. Most part of the water-workmen are foreigners, whom Peter I. originally sent for, and who are paid great salaries.

Progress
of the sci-
ences.
Academy.

While I am speaking of the new establishments that have been made in Russia, it would be wrong not to say something of the progress of the sciences in this empire.

When Peter I. ascended the throne, he found his people plunged in the grossest ignorance; even the priests could scarce write: the most essential qualities required at that time in a good divine, were, to read currently the service, and to know the ceremonies of the church; if with that he had a fine bushy beard, and a grim visage, he passed for a great man.

It was only the clergy of the Ukrain that had
some

some tincture of erudition, and even that was very trifling; yet among them it was that there was a necessity of selecting personages fit in any degree to instruct others. For Peter I. having wished that his subjects, and particularly the clergy, should be more enlightened, gave it in charge to the archbishop of Rezan, Stephen Javorsky, to establish schools in the monasteries of Moscow, and in other proper places. This prelate sent for professors from Kiow and Czernichow, and the instruction of youth was begun, who did not, however, make much progress.

Some years afterwards, the Emperor, apprehending he had some cause to be dissatisfied at the conduct of this archbishop, for his not coming into the change this Prince had a mind to make in the government of the church, withdrew his confidence from him; and having, in 1709, after the fortunate battle of Pultowa, found, in the monastery of Kiow, a monk, called Prokopowitz, who had not only in his youth studied under the jesuits in Poland, but afterwards passed some years at Rome, and in different academies of Italy, where he had acquired a reasonable fund of learning; the Emperor judged this man proper for his designs, and having sent for him to Petersburg, declared him abbot of the monastery of St. Alexander Newsky, newly built near that capital, giving him at the same time in charge, to establish some good schools and academies in Russia.

Prokopowitz began with having several youths taught in a school which he had set up in his own house, and after they had made some progress, he sent them to foreign academies, to acquire learning enough to be employed at their return in quality of professors or preceptors, in the academies that were to be instituted in Russia. In the mean while, till these new establishments could be ready,

he took care the instructions of youth should be continued in the monasteries, where they were taught the Latin language, and the first elements of philosophy.

Prokopowitz did not, however, succeed in his design. A part of those whom he had sent abroad did not return at all; and those that did, did not bring back with them the necessary qualifications for instructing others; so that the scheme fell to the ground.

To polish the nobility, Peter I. had at first imagined, that the making them travel would be sufficient; accordingly, on his return from his first grand voyage, he sent all the youth of the first families of the empire to England, France, Holland, Italy and Germany, to see the world, and to acquire a knowledge of men and things; but the greatest part of these young people having been very ill brought up, returned nearly the same as they went out. This made the Emperor sensible of the necessity of beginning with giving them a better education, as a foundation for their being sent on their travels.

It was nearly about that time, that a Livonian priest, called Gluck, was brought to Moscow. This man, who had no more learning or erudition than any other of the village-priests there commonly have, found, however, means to pass for a great genius, because he really understood the Russian language thoroughly well.

Peter I. pitched upon him for establishing schools, where the young nobility might be instructed. Gluck proposed to him the formation of a school, such as he had seen in the towns of Livonia, where the youth are taught Latin, their catechism, and other scholastic exercises. The Emperor having approved this project, and assigned a considerable sum for the salaries of the masters, with a spacious house

house in Moscow, where the school was to be kept; Gluck sent for several students in divinity, of the Lutheran religion; and, in every point of the institution of his own school, followed the discipline of the Swedish church; to which, that nothing might be wanting, he translated several Lutheran hymns into bitter bad Russian verse, which the scholars were made to sing very devoutly, at the beginning and ending of the school hours.

In short, this arrangement was so ridiculous, and the success of this reformation so bad, that Peter I. could not remain long without perceiving it, so that he broke up that school, and abandoned anew the care of the childrens' education to their parents. And as, at that time, there were a number of Swedish officers prisoners, who, having had a very good education, and being now destitute of livelihood, readily engaged themselves at the houses of persons of distinction, to bring up their children; this succeeded better than all the schools that had been hitherto established.

In 1717, Peter I. being in France, got himself received a member of the academy of sciences at Paris, which inspired him with a desire of founding such an one at Petersburg. The ideas which this Prince had of the sciences were not clear enough for him to make a choice of those which would be the most proper for his dominions; and the conferences which he had with several of the men of letters, of whom not one had any knowledge of Russia, only served to render his ideas more confused.

At length, in 1724, he was resolved to found an academy at Petersburg, taking that of Paris for his model in every thing; and, at the outset of it, to give a lustre to this new establishment, he engaged several men of literature, of the highest reputation, such as Wolff, Bornoulli, Herman, de l'Isle, &c. to become members. He gave them

great stipends; and assigned for the support of the academy an annual fund of twenty-five thousand rubles, (above 5000*l.*) on the customs of Narva, Pernow, and Dorpat.

The Emperor did not live long enough to have the satisfaction of seeing this work finished; but his first physician, Bluckmentroft, whom he had made president of the academy, with a stipend of three thousand rubles a year, (600*l.*) preserved influence enough to have the inauguration of it solemnized in the reign of Catherine. And though a great part of the ministry were against this establishment, which they considered as very useless to the state; Bluckmentroft, however, found means to keep his ground even in the reign of Peter II.

When the Empress Anne came to the throne, Bluckmentroft was disgraced; but as the academy was an establishment founded by Peter I. Anne was induced to preserve it: not satisfied with confirming to it its revenue of twenty-five thousand rubles, she even paid its debts, which amounted to thirty thousand rubles, (above 6000*l.*) and named the count of Keyserling president. Some years afterwards, Keyserling being sent in quality of minister to Poland, the baron de Korf succeeded him in the presidency, who being also sent in 1740 to Copenhagen, M. de Brevern, privy-counsellor, came in his room: but the great affairs of the state so engrossed his time, that he had not leisure for the functions of this employ, and accordingly resigned it. The academy thereon remained some years without a president, till the Empress Elizabeth appointed to it Kirila Gregorywitz, count Razowsky, brother to the grand huntsman.

The œconomy of the academy has been ever very singular. I have just now mentioned the Empress Anne's having issued out of her treasury, at the beginning of her reign, thirty thousand rubles, for

for paying the debts of the academy ; notwithstanding which, when Korf went to Denmark, it owed the same amount ; and though the Empress Elizabeth assigned anew a considerable sum for the discharge of its debts, its affairs are not, for all that, in better order.

Hitherto Russia has not derived any advantage from these great establishments. All the use the academy has been of, in return for the great sums which for these twenty-eight years have been expended upon them, is, that the Russians have an almanack made on the meridian of Petersburg ; that they have news-papers to read in their own language ; and that some of the adscititious German members have made progress enough in mathematics and philosophy, to be qualified for earning salaries of from six to eight hundred rubles. For, among the Russians, there are not to be found above one or two capable of being employed as professors.

In short, this academy is not managed or ordered in such a manner that Russia can ever have to hope the least advantage from it. For the languages, morality, the civil law, history, and practical geometry, which are the only sciences that are the most eminently useful to Russia, are not, however, those which are the greatest objects of their application ; it is to algebra, to speculative geometry, and to the other points of the sublime mathematics ; to critical solutions and researches on the habitations and languages of some ancient people ; to anatomical observations on the structure of man, and of other animals, that all the attention is given. Now, as the Russians consider all these sciences as frivolous, and even useless, it is not at all astonishing, that they should not care to send their children to study at the academy, though all the lessons are given gratis. This is so far true, that the number of professors in it has very often exceeded that of
the

the students, and that they have been obliged to bring youth there from Moscow, to whom pensions were given to excite them to study, that the professors might have at least the appearance of some to attend their lessons.

From all this, there may a fair conclusion be drawn, that a number of good schools to be established at Moscow and Petersburgh, and at some other towns in the country, for the common useful sciences would be of much more service and advantage to Russia, than an academy of sciences, which costs it every year great sums, and produces it no solid benefit.

Peter I. had, moreover, instituted at Petersburgh an academy for the marine, under the direction of two Englishmen, Bradley and Farquharson; and this establishment was one of the best of the kind, yet it could not keep itself on foot, being fallen into decline even in that Emperor's life-time. Some able land-surveyors, which this academy has formed, were all the good obtained from it.

The schools of engineering and artillery established at Moscow and Petersburgh, are those which have kept themselves the best on foot; and as the Russian nation has more taste for artillery than for any other science, there were many in those schools that became very skilful.

Military.

I come now to speak of the changes in the military. When Peter I. came to the throne, he had hardly any other troops in his empire than the *Strelitzes*. This militia had been formed by the patriarch Philaret, father of the Czar Michael Feodorowitz, to curb the nobility and the great of that country. There is no comparing them to any thing so fitly as to the Janissaries; they fought in the same manner, and had much the same privileges as these have. They might amount to forty thousand men, divided into different regiments; part of

of them served in the guards about the Czar's person, the rest were distributed in garrison on the frontiers. Their arms consisted of musquets and sabres; their pay was not above four rubles a year, (sixteen shillings) but as they had great privileges in trade, they might very well subsist on it. Even several rich citizens inrolled themselves in this body, who did no duty in time of peace, and in time of war they could easily exempt themselves from marching, by giving a competent present to the commander, and by sending a man in their room.

The militia having been raised to counterbalance the nobility; care was taken, from the very first of its institution, to place none at the head of it but soldiers of fortune, or some foreigners that had distinguished themselves in the wars of Poland. This had caused, and kept up the hatred between this body and the nobility. No gentleman would ever list in it, holding it shameful to serve persons of an inferior condition.

For a long time, Russia maintained no other troops in time of peace than this infantry. However, there were always kept collaterally in reserve, a number of colonels and other officers, of whom the greatest part were foreigners, and to whom there was allotted in time of peace a slender pay. As soon as a war was coming on, each colonel had a particular district assigned him, in which to levy men; and every village was obliged to furnish him the number specified for its contingent. Easy it is to judge that these people were ill disciplined, ill clothed, and ill armed. Indeed, they took whatever weapons came next to hand, and few had any fire-arms; the most of these had a sort of battle-axe, called in the Russian language *berdish*; the rest had wooden clubs. Such troops, one may readily imagine, were not capable of great services; and, accordingly, they were hardly trusted with any thing but

but guarding the baggage. As soon as the campaign was over, every soldier returned to his village; and if the war continued, there was a necessity of entirely new-raising the regiment for the next campaign. In short these troops could not be compared to any but to those which the Turkish Bashaws bring into the field with them, excepting that these last are better armed, and have more courage.

All that is here said concerns only the infantry.

As to the cavalry, it was composed of the lesser nobility, and was called in Russia *Dieti Boiarsky*, or *Boyars Children*; they were dispersed over all the provinces where they possessed hereditary fees. At the opening of the campaign, each repaired to the general rendezvous, with a certain number of servants in proportion to his estate. These gentry had no pay, and were obliged to maintain themselves and their servants at their own expence during the whole war. Their common arms consisted in bows and arrows, sabres and half-pikes: some had also fire-arms; that is to say, such as could pay for them.

Such a cavalry opposed to disciplined enemies, would hardly have stood a very good chance; but the Tartars and Poles, against whom they had the oftenest to combat, were not much better in that respect than themselves, so that they might serve tolerably well.

Besides this cavalry composed of the nobility, Russia maintained some thousands of Tartars, who had submitted to this empire, on the terms of preserving their liberty of conscience, after the conquest of the kingdom of Kasan.

In the case too of the Czars, their wanting a more numerous cavalry, they could take a great number of Calmucks into their pay, to whom they paid no more than a ruble (four shillings) a year, and a *moufic* or mantle made of a sheep's skin.

But

But when the Cossacks had, at length, put themselves under the protection of Russia, its troops were augmented by a hundred thousand horse.

Among the ancient Czars, there were some that had a foreign guard; as for example, *Iwan Basilowitz*, to whom the historians have given, though wrongfully, the appellation of tyrant, for he was one of the greatest men that ever Russia produced.

The Czar, Michael Feodorowitz, in the last years of his reign, and his son, Alexis Feodorowitz, had already had the design of putting the army upon another footing. During the war they had with Poland, they had formed some regiments of infantry upon the plan of other European troops, and had given the command of them to foreign officers. The regiment of Boutinsky had subsisted ever since the year 1642; one Dalzel commanded it: this regiment was composed of fifty-two companies, each of a hundred men. There are also to be seen ancient lists of the regiment of the first Moskowsky, of the year 1648; a general, Drummond, was the commander.

The Czar, Alexis Michaelowitz, caused to be translated into the Russian language, a book on the military art (which had been published in German) to serve for the instruction of his officers. He also sent for from Brescia eight thousand carabines, which are actually now at Moscow.

But as there was, at that time, a necessity for keeping measures with the Strelitzes, who beheld with a jealous eye these new troops; as the Boyars also, who had great influence at court, would not consent to lose entirely the peasants belonging to their lands, and who, according to ancient custom, were not obliged to serve but only in time of war, and then, no longer than the campaign lasted; especially too, as the clergy, who had great power, were afraid that foreign heretics might gain too
great

great an ascendant over the sovereign; this project of reformation came to little or nothing.

It was under the reign of Alexis Michaelowitz, that about three thousand Scotch arrived in Russia, who had quitted Great-Britain after the defeat and imprisonment of King Charles I. These were very well received; they had a place assigned them contiguous to the town of Moscow, where they built houses, and formed that part of this great town, which is distinguished to this day by the name of *Inostranaya Sloboda*, or habitation of strangers.

Peter I. having ascended the throne, the various troubles with which the beginning of his reign was agitated, obliged him to put himself into the hands of foreigners, and to shake off those prejudices which had hindered his father and grandfather from executing the project of alteration they had begun. After this Prince had rid himself of the Strelitzes *, his first care was to root out of the higher nobility that prejudice as to their quality, from which they held it an indignity for a man of a great birth to serve under a man of an inferior one. To succeed in this design, he fell upon the following expedient. He formed out of the youths, who were brought up with him, according to the custom of that time, a company of fifty, under the name of *Poteschnie*, (or for amusement) and made them be clothed in one uniform, and exercised in the foreign manner; declaring at the same time, that he would have no prerogative over his comrades. He began with serving in the lowest degree, not even so high as a private soldier, but in quality of drummer. He renounced all his authority as to the military rank, depositing it in trust in the hands of the Prince Romandonowsky, who was to advance him according

* As the Memoirs of the reign of Peter I. contain an ample account of the numerous execution of the Strelitzes, it would be superfluous to say any thing of it here.

to his merit, and without any favor: and so long as Prince Romandonowsky lived, which was till 1714, it was always he that advanced Peter I. to the ranks of general and admiral, when he would take them upon him.

By this means the Emperor arrived at his end, for the nobility seeing their master did not make any distinction of quality in the service, submitted also to the like; and though they could not forget the prerogative of their birth, they were, however, ashamed of pretending upon it to a right of which the Emperor had divested himself.

Little by little the Emperor augmented this company, and at length formed two regiments of infantry, whom he declared his guards in 1706. Blomberg was colonel of the first, and the marshal Prince Gallitzin of the second: they were clothed, armed, and exercised after the manner of the other troops of Europe. Some time afterwards he established some more regiments of infantry on the same footing, and gave orders to all his ministers at the foreign courts to engage as many officers in his service as they could find. In a few years he had a considerable number of very good ones.

The Emperor wanted also to form his cavalry upon the same footing as that of the rest of Europe. For this purpose, he took some hundreds of Saxon reysters or horsemen into his service, that were to serve for a model; but having discovered that there were not to be found in all Russia horses proper for remounting the heavy cavalry, and that, if he had recourse to foreign ones, the expences would be too great; he was obliged to abandon this project, and content himself with raising regiments of dragoons.

Among the foreigners who came to Russia, the principal was the marshal Ogilvy: it is to this general that the Russians are indebted for the first establishment

blishment of order and discipline in their army, and especially in the infantry.

As to the dragoons, it was the general Ronne, a Courlander, that was in charge of them; but as almost all the officers, and particularly the generals who entered into the service of Peter I. had never served but in the infantry; the exercises and evolutions of the cavalry were much neglected, and the dragoons learned no other part of the exercise than what belonged to them when dismounted to act on foot: they had scarce any knowledge of evolutions on horseback.

The Empress Anne having raised three regiments of cuirassiers, the dragoons learned of them their evolutions, and are now better exercised than they were formerly.

Some years before the death of Peter I. this Emperor established for his army perpetual quarters, in the different provinces of his empire, where the regiments were to remain in time of peace. Houses were built there for the officers, and the scheme was to found some great villages, where the soldiers were to be lodged. These villages have never been entirely finished, and the regiments which had been distributed among the provinces since the year 1723 to 1732, have had their quarters in towns, and in the neighbouring villages.

Peter I. planned this establishment in imitation of the Swedes. I have, I think, before mentioned in my Memoirs, that this Emperor had once entertained a design of imitating in every thing the Swedish arrangements, but the great difficulties he met with in it made him relinquish the project.

In the time of the Empress Anne, these perpetual quarters were totally abandoned, and have never been thought of since.

When Peter I. died, his army consisted of two regiments of guards, of which the first had four battalions,

battalions, and the second three ; of fifty regiments of infantry, of thirty regiments of dragoons, of some squadrons of hussars, sixty-seven regiments in garrisons, and six of militia ; the whole might amount to about two hundred thousand men.

There was no considerable change made in the army during the reigns of Catherine and of Peter II. but the Empress Anne having ascended the throne, she began, as I have observed in that part of my Memoirs relative to her life, by augmenting the army. There were added to the guards five squadrons of cavalry, and three battalions of infantry ; she formed some time afterwards three regiments of cuirassiers, and increased the militia, by fourteen regiments, for the guard of the lines of the Ukraïn. At her death, the Russian army amounted to two hundred and forty thousand men.

It was during the reign of this Princess, that, through the good arrangements made by marshal Munich and the general officers who commanded under him, the finishing hand was put to the introduction of good order and discipline into the army, insomuch that all who have seen it have been obliged to confess, that the infantry might rank among the best in Europe.

It was at that time that Russia had in her service such good generals, that few powers in Europe could boast the like, Munich, Lacy, Keith, Lowendahl, have illustrated their names enough for it to be presumable, that they will descend to the latest posterity. Be this observed, without particularly naming here all the other generals who commanded under them, among whom there were some who might have done honor to any service in the world.

After the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, she was obliged to yield to the importunity of some old

old Russian generals, and especially to those of the marshal Knez Dolgoroucky, who prevailed on her for the abandoning the new exercises, and, in general, all that had been introduced of new into the army under the preceding reign. By this means, indiscipline and disorder, little by little, crept in among the troops. The best generals, and a number of good officers, extremely disgusted at the bad procedure towards them, quitted the service; so that none remained in it but those to whom the permission of retiring was absolutely refused, or who did not know where else to go.

The good officers, who are still there, are too timid, too much out of heart, to undertake the correction of the insolence of their subalterns; and the rest have not a capacity for it if they would.

Among the great number of foreigners who came to this empire since the beginning of this century, there were certainly some excellent officers; but there were also some of the most abject wretches that Europe could produce. Some adventurers, at their last shifts, and who did not know how to dispose of themselves otherwise, got to Russia, and even made their way in the service as well as the best.

During the war with Sweden, the Empress Elizabeth broke four regiments of infantry, to put the men into the marine; but to make amends for this, she, in 1747, augmented the army with fifty new battalions; so that at present it amounts to two hundred and seventy thousand seven hundred and ninety-one men, without reckoning the light troops of the Cossacks and Calmucks, of whom there might be, without any difficulty, raised as far as sixty thousand horse.

Yet all these troops are hardly sufficient to cover such an immense extent of country, and Russia cannot employ in its campaigns above 120,000, or
130,000

130,000 regulars at the most; the rest must be reserved for the garrisons and frontiers.

In the wars against the Turks and against Sweden, there were all the troops assembled that it was possible to muster for the campaign, and yet the different armies of it could never amount at a time to 100,000 combatants.

The irregular or light troops, of which Russia has so prodigious a quantity, are capable of very good services against the Turks and Tartars, but would rather embarrass an army than be useful to it in an inhabited country. Their consumption of the forages is so great, that they would soon bring a scarcity upon a camp; to say nothing of the ravages they commit for some miles round in a country, and by which they would intercept and destroy the provisions necessary for the main army.

Artillery was known in Russia so long ago as the reign of the Czar Iwan Basilowitz II. but they did not understand how to use it. The pieces were of an enormous size, and utterly unserviceable. The great art of besieging, which the Russians of those times practised, was, to raise a moveable mount of earth, which little by little they pushed forward, so as not only to fill with it the ditch before a town, but to bring themselves on a level with its walls. In case they did not succeed by this means in taking the place, they had nothing left for it but a blockade, continued till the garrison should be forced to surrender for want of provisions.

Bruce, a gentleman originally Scotch, his grandfather having been one of those that took refuge in Russia after the unfortunate end of Charles I. was the person that in the reign of Peter I. made the first good orders and establishment in the board of ordinance, so that it may now be confidently averred, that the Russian artillery is in as good condition, and as well served as most in Europe. Few
are

are equal to it, and fewer yet surpass it, for it is the only branch of the art of war to which the Russians apply themselves with great assiduity, and in which there are very able officers of the nation itself.

The number of cannon in this empire is infinite. In 1714, it was reckoned at thirteen thousand pieces, and has, since that time, been considerably augmented; as they have kept constantly casting new guns at six different founderies, of brass at those of Moscow and Petersburg, and of iron at those of Woronitz, Olonitz, Seisterburgh, and Catherinenburgh.

According to the last arrangement made in the reign of Peter I. 1720, each battalion of infantry, and each regiment of dragoons, had two field-pieces, three-pounders, that remained respectively appropriated to the corps. The heavy artillery, except that which was left in the fortified places, was distributed in such a manner, that the general magazine was always to be at Moscow; besides which, there were established at each of the three following different places, Briansk, on the frontiers of Poland; Nova Pawlosk, on the frontiers of Turkey and Petersburg, a complete train of artillery, consisting of 204 cannon of different sizes, and 72 mortars and hauwitzers.

Engineers. It was also the same Bruce that took care to form a body of engineers.

He instituted schools at Moscow and Petersburg, where youth were taught practical geometry, engineership, and gunnery. Count Munich, who in the reign of Peter II. was made grand-master of the ordnance, continued with great assiduity, his best endeavours to put those schools on the best footing possible; but the Russians not having the same inclination for engineership as they have for gunnery,

gunnery, few have made any great proficiency in that art ; most of the officers engineers are foreigners.

It is to the Kings of Prussia that the Russians particularly owe the first establishments of their artillery and engineership. King Frederic I. in 1696, sent them the first officers of artillery and engineers to undertake the siege of Asoph, and in 1733 the King Frederic William sent to Russia several more engineers, as I have precedently mentioned in my Memoirs.

Nor is it longer than since the reign of Peter I. that Russia so much as knew what a maritime force was. Formerly, so far from having a fleet, they had scarce ever seen a man of war ; but that Emperor, having taken a taste for the marine, labored with all possible application at the establishment of one.

In other affairs, he contented himself with examining the general plan, and left the particulars to those who were in charge of the execution ; but in every thing that concerned the marine, he interfered ; even in the greatest trifles : in the docks, they hardly durst drive a nail without advising him of it.

When he was at Petersburgh, he passed several hours of the day in the admiralty ; and as soon as it was determined to put any ships on the stocks, he preferred this occupation to the most important affairs of his empire. The most complete victory that his land-army could have obtained, would not have pleased him half so well as any the slightest advantage gained over an enemy by his ships or gallies. In short, of all his passions, that for the marine was the strongest.

This was the more extraordinary, for that this Prince had, in his earliest years, scarce emerged out of infancy, shewn a particular aversion against water. At that time, if there was any occasion for

crossing the smallest mill-pond, they were obliged to blind all the coach-doors and windows, to keep out of his sight that terrible element.

A half-rotten small bark was the first cause of this great change. It happened to be at a little pleasure-house, called Ishmailow, near Moscow. A Dutchman, called Timmerman, who had now and then the honor of diverting the Emperor, took the boat thence; and having refitted it, made use of it on the ponds near that house, sailing sometimes with the wind, sometimes against it. The Emperor, who naturally loved the mechanic arts, took pleasure in the seeing him work the boat in that manner. He had some larger vessels built, which he used on the lake Periaslaw; and, at length, growing desirous of viewing ships, he took a trip expressly for that purpose to Archangel. It was, perhaps, this very curiosity, that was one of his greatest determining motives to make a voyage to Holland and England.

It appears from the history of his life, with what assiduity he applied himself to the art of ship-building; how he himself worked in the docks of Sardam, where he got himself admitted a ship-builder, and was highly delighted whenever his brethren of the art gave him the appellation of *Baas Peter*, or master Peter.

Upon leaving Holland, he engaged a number of officers of the marine, of sailors, builders, carpenters, in short, of all the artists and mechanics necessary for forming a marine. As soon as he was returned to Moscow, he made a voyage to the river Don, attended by all these people, and established a dock-yard at Woronitz. He then obliged the men of great property in his dominions to build ships and other vessels at their own expence, inasmuch that in a very short space of time he had got a number of vessels fit to be launched.

He

He embarked on them foreign officers and sailors, under whom he placed his own subjects, whom he had sent for from the maritime provinces, in order that these might be instructed in the art of navigation. At the same time, he sent abroad youths of the first distinction to England, Holland, France, and Italy, to learn there the various disciplines of their marine.

And as the Don has not depth enough at its mouth for a vessel of any burthen to pass with its lading on board, he settled, near to it, on the sea of Asoph, at a place called Taganrogh, an excellent port, called *Troitza*, or *the Trinity*, in which ships having passed the mouth of the Don, under Asoph, in their ballast, might take in their lading and compliment of warlike and other stores, and remain there in full security.

All who saw this port, allowed it to be one of the best in Europe.

The war into which Peter I. entered against Sweden, obliged him to turn his views to another quarter than the Black-Sea for forming a fleet. He did not, however, give over this point, but continued laboring it as often as his other avocations permitted him; never failing, once a year at least, of making a trip to Woronitz, where the principal dock-yard was.

The unfortunate affair of Pruth broke entirely all the designs that Peter I. might have had to make a capital figure with his fleet against that of the Turks, for he was obliged to demolish the port of *Troitza*, and to restore Asoph. And as it was not practicable to bring the ships up the river Don to Woronitz, there was no alternative but to burn them, or yield them up to the Turks. There were then only three ships of the line saved by the resolute conduct of a commodore, whose name I have forgotten. Vexed to see the fleet perish in

SUPPLEMENT TO THE

that manner, he passed the streights of Constantinople with three ships, and arrived happily in England, where he sold them, and bought in their room some English ships, of which one was the Marlborough, which he brought to Cronstadt.

Peter I. after this terrible check to his naval schemes in that quarter, resolved to transfer his whole marine to Petersburgh, where he had, from the year 1704, already begun to establish a dock-yard, in which there had been built some small vessels of war. But the work in it had been carried on with no great vigor : partly, because Peter I. could not flatter himself with keeping Petersburgh, before the fortunate battle for him of Pulsowa ; partly because there were so many difficulties to be overcome in the beginning of this settlement, as would have discouraged any one but that Emperor. For the river of Newa, between Petersburgh and Cronstadt, is, in many places, so shallow, not having above eight feet water, that the ships built at Petersburgh could not be got to Cronstadt but by the under-lift of cables, before they could be fitted, or take in any the least ballast ; nor is it possible to get them up the river again. Besides, the harbor of Cronstadt is not open, on account of the ice, for above six months of the year, and so situated, that there is no getting out of it but with an easterly wind. The water too in this port can hardly be called salt-water, so that no ship can be preserved in it many years. Another yet greater difficulty than the prementioned ones, was, that in all the provinces neighbouring to Petersburgh, there was no oak to be found, but they were obliged to seek for it on the other side of Kasan.

All these circumstances considered, Peter I. could, at the beginning, make but small progress in the establishment of his maritime at Petersburgh. In 1713, his whole fleet consisted of but four ships
of

of the line and some frigates. In supplement to this, he caused some men of war to be built at Archangel of fir, or rather *larix* (the larch tree) and others to be purchased in England and Holland; but the Swedes, who cruised against all vessels which they could discover to be bound for any ports of Russia, intercepted these by the way, and prevented those of Archangel from risking their passage to Petersburg.

At length, when the English and Dutch sent a squadron into the *Sound* to convoy their merchantmen, Peter I. had the opportunity of procuring not only the safe arrival of the ships he had ordered to be built at Archangel, but of others which he had caused to be purchased in England and France; so that in the year 1718 he saw himself in a condition to put to sea twenty-two ships of the line, and in 1719 twenty-eight, against which the Swedes could not make head, upon the account of the unhappy circumstances to which they were at that time reduced.

Peter I. at length, in virtue of the prodigious pains he had taken, arrived at seeing, before the end of his life, his admiralty in very good order, and at having a fine fleet, composed of thirty ships of the line, besides frigates and other vessels of war, of which too the crews consisted principally of Russian sailors of his own nation.

The great inconveniencies which he had found in the port of Cronstadt determined Peter I. to have another more suitable place sought for along the coasts of the conquered provinces, where he might fix a harbor for his navy. There was one found in Esthonia, at Rogerwick, four miles from Revel. The shores there form a harbor, which may commodiously hold a hundred ships. The water is saltier there than at Cronstadt, and the outlet of the port more easy; the anchoring-ground excellent.

Nothing, in short, was wanting to it but to streighten the mouth of it, and defend it against storms, and against an enemy's attacks. The Emperor flattered himself that he should easily accomplish these points; he caused the work to be begun with the utmost diligence in the last years of the war against Sweden. An incredible quantity of timber was brought from Livonia and Esthonia to Rogerwick; great caissons were made with it; these were filled with stones, and sunk in the sea, which in some places was twenty fathoms deep; in this manner, there were two moles advanced in it, with intention to inclose sufficiently the port; but the work was not so much as half-finished, before it was entirely destroyed by a violent storm at west. It was begun again, but the like storms often returning in his reign, as well as in that of Catherine, there appeared, at length, an inevitable necessity of abandoning a project, which had cost immense sums, and ruined the woods of all Livonia and Esthonia.

It is said, that the Empress Elizabeth has ordered this work to be begun afresh, but it will be difficult to defend it from the storms of westerly wind, till it is entirely completed and secured, so that I hardly think it will ever be brought to perfection.

Peter I. for the advantage and improvement of his marine, began also another undertaking: he set on foot the making a very wide and deep canal, which begins in the port of Cronstadt, and is carried on for above the length of a cannon-shot, or reach of a bomb-shell, in the island: at the end of this canal, there is a great basin or reservoir of water, commodiously capacious for fifty ships of the line; and on the sides of the basin there are contrived a kind of cover on the niches, that may serve occasionally for dry docks, where the ships may be careened or refitted; the water being drawn off by sluices.

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The Emperor died just as they had begun upon this work, which was neglected in the reigns of Catherine and of Peter II. The Empress Anne ordered it to be resumed, under the direction of general Louberas, but did not live long enough to see the completion of it. Elizabeth made it be continued; and it was not till 1752 that general Louberas had the honor of accomplishing this great undertaking, which, all who have seen it, confess to be a work worthy of the ancient Romans.

Among the establishments made by Peter I. for his marine, the gallies should not be omitted; for this part of the fleet is at least as useful to Russia as the ships themselves, having done her considerable services in her wars against Sweden. It was to the gallies that Peter I. owed that glorious peace for him of Nyfstadt, and it was the fear of those gallies, serving to invade Sweden, that, in 1743, greatly contributed to the conclusion of the peace of Abow.

Before Peter I.'s time, there had never been seen, in the Baltic, this kind of vessel. Some Greeks and Dalmatians, who came to Russia during the first war which that Emperor had with the Turks, gave the first idea of them, and built some of them at Woronitz. And so long as there existed a marine on the Don, they were of great use to make cruises and descents in the sea of Asoph; and when the admiralty was transferred to Petersburgh, it was found that the gallies might do valuable services among the islands and rocks that lie on the coasts of Finland and Sweden, and which are commonly known by the name of *Scheers*.

Peter I. did not hesitate to avail himself of this advantage. In a few years, he had above two hundred gallies at Petersburgh, where he fixed their dock and harbor, and where there is room for the convenient

convenient preservation of two hundred gallies, dry and under cover.

The Emperor found no difficulty in the least in having as many gallies built as he pleased; they require no other wood than fir, of which the neighbourhood of Petersburg and Finland is full; and as there is not so much art in their construction as in that of ships, the greatest part of them has been made at Abow by the Russian soldiers, with their common hatchets, under the direction of two or three foreign builders. The navigation or working of them is also very easy. After one or two campaigns made by the troops on board the gallies, there was hardly an officer of the infantry that did not know as well how to manage them as the best Greek pilot. The soldiers themselves prefer the campaigns on board these vessels to those on land; for, though they are put to the oar, this does not fatigue them so much as the marches in which they are forced to carry all their baggage on their backs; besides, that they are relieved by the use of sails as often as the wind is favorable. They have also all that is needful for their subsistence at hand, and live almost every night on shore. The Russians have no gangs of rowers; it is the soldiers themselves that ply the oar, which they learn readily enough with two or three days practice.

When Peter I. died, he left his marine in very good conditon; his magazines well stored; in short, a great abundance of every thing necessary for completing the naval armaments. For, as it was his ruling passion, he had spared neither pains nor money to put every thing into the best order possible. He had, especially, expended immense sums in bringing to his country able ship-builders, and other artists necessary for the formation of a navy.

In the reign of Catherine, the marine began to decline; and under that of Peter II. it was to totally neglected. Anne meant to restore it to good order.

As

As soon as she ascended the throne, there was a board of commissioners appointed for that purpose; and yet so small a progress was made therein, that when, in 1734, there was a design to blockade the town of Dantzick by sea, every thing was wanting at the admiralty, and it was not without great difficulty that they could get fifteen ships of the line fitted out, which admiral Gordon brought to Dantzick; and even these ships were in such a wretched condition, that if France had but eight or nine ships at sea in those parts, the Russian fleet, in all probability, would not have ventured out of the port of Cronstadt.

The war against the Turks completed the ruin of the marine, as I have precedently observed; the best officers and the most expert sailors having perished on board the squadrons that were employed on the sea of Asoph and before Ockzakow, inasmuch, when the war afterwards began against Sweden, Russia, for the first campaign, could not put to sea a single ship. Nor, as it has been remarked, did the fleet undertake any thing the two ensuing campaigns.

I do not know whether, after the peace, there have been any measures taken for the restoration of the marine, but this may be observed with certainty, that good officers of the marine, and able sailors, are actually more than ever wanted in Russia; and that there are not, in this vast empire, so many as three persons, to whom the command of a fleet could be well trusted.

The government of Russia has been from time immemorial purely despotic *; the liberty of a

Russian subject never having gotten to the pitch of
his

* The Russian monarchy begins from the year 861, when their first Czar, Rurick Prince of Novogorod reigned. From that time to the present, there have been forty-six sovereigns, (including the false Demetriuses) whose names are recorded in history.

That

his not being subjected to the unlimited power of his sovereign : and though the ancient Czars had given to the nobility of their country means of raising up and limiting the supreme power, having granted great privileges to them, and divided the state into several petty provinces, each of which had its respective sovereign, yet we do not find till recently enough in history, any trace of an attempt to set bounds to the absolute power of the Prince over the lives and fortunes of his subjects.

The veneration of the Russian nation for the descendants from the first Grand Duke Rurick, was so great, that while that race subsisted, so far from revolt being thought of, it probably never came into a Russian's head, that his country could be otherwise governed than by a despotic sovereign. So deep-rooted was this idea, that when after the association of the first false Demetrius, the nation elected for Czar, the Knees *Schwiskoi*, who was indeed a descendant from the ancient reigning family, but through a branch which had been for a long space of time separate from it, this Prince, of his own mere motion and accord, offered to take an oath, by which he would bind himself, never to put any Boyar to death without the consent of his peers ; upon this, the whole body of the Boyars threw themselves at his feet, supplicating him not to throw away so slightly so precious a jewel of the imperial crown. But *Schwiskoi* having sunk under the power of Poland, and the great men of the empire having resolved to proceed to a new election, some of them, indeed, proposed to limit the power of the new sovereign, who would naturally have

That of the first monarch is confused enough ; the empire being divided among several petty Princes, whom the Tartars had entirely subdued. Iwan Basiliwitz, surnamed the Victorious, whose reign began in 1413, was the Prince who shook off the Tartar yoke, and made great conquests. From that epoch it is, that it is possible to have a tolerably regular and uninterrupted history of the empire of Russia.

no right over them, but what they would be pleased to give him. Several Russian lords, who were at that time prisoners in Poland, strongly seconded this resolution, and among others the bishop of Rezan, *Feodor*, or *Philaret*, who did not then imagine that the election would fall upon his son.

Upon this, a senate was formed, under the appellation of *Sobor*, in which not only the *Boyars*, but also all those who occupied great stations or offices in the empire had a seat, and there passed unanimously a resolve, not to elect any sovereign that would not bind himself by oath to administer justice according to the most *ancient* laws of the empire, and to condemn no person by his own arbitrary power or authority, less yet to augment the taxes, or to make peace or war without his having consulted the *Sobor* on these points.

And that the new Czar that was to be, might be the more firmly bound to these conditions, it was determined, that he should not be chosen out of any family, either powerful by birth, or by such influence in the country as might enable him to violate his oath, and to arrogate to himself a despotic power.

It was in this view that they chose a young gentleman of fifteen years old, by name *Michael Federowitz Romanow*. His father, bishop of Rezan, had, with great firmness, opposed the Polish faction. All the relation he had to the ancient family was nothing more than that Iwan Basiliwitz II. had married his grandfather's sister, *Anastasia Romanowna*, the daughter of a private gentleman.

The Czar *Michael Federowitz* accepted, and signed without hesitation the conditions proposed to him. He reigned for some time, agreeably to the conventions made with him. But his father *Philaret* having been released from his Polish captivity, and afterwards chosen patriarch, managed so dexterously, by means of the authority which his dignity gave

gave him over a superstitious people, and of the discontent which the lesser nobility had conceived against the Boyars, as also of the dissensions that reigned among themselves, that he soon got the full power into his own hands, and, as long as he lived, held his son in a kind of state of pupilage.

This patriarch, by various ways, got rid of the republican spirits, and left nothing to the *Sobor* but the honor of approving his ordinances. To maintain his encroachments, he instituted a new guard, to which he gave the name of *Strelitzes*, and granted to it great privileges and prerogatives, but never trusted the command of them to any man of great rank, nor put any officers over them but adventurers, who had distinguished themselves in the wars against Poland. Thence it was that the Russian nobility came to hold these troops in the utmost contempt, which the *Strelitzes* repaid them with a most cordial hatred.

This militia put the Czar Michael Feodowitz into such a condition, as enabled him, after his father's death, to continue to reign with the same power.

After the decease of Michael, his son, Alexis, who succeeded him, found himself so strengthened in power, by the assistance of these *Strelitzes*, that he was under no necessity of keeping any measures with the nobility, and could break into their privileges as much and as often as he pleased.

Alexis dying, his son, Feodor Alexowitz ascended the throne. This Prince, though of an extreme delicate constitution, and almost always sick, nevertheless, by means of the *Strelitzes*, maintained his power against the nobility. He even took the bold resolution of causing to be burnt the genealogical tables of descent of all the nobility, which were kept at Moscow in a particular chancery, or place of those records. By this he meant to abolish at one stroke the difference which the greater nobility pretended

pretended there was between them and the lesser.

The Czar Feodor dying soon after, the Boyars placed upon the throne the younger brother, *Peter Alexowitz*, to the exclusion of the elder *Iwan*, in the hopes, that during the minority of Peter, who was not then above ten years old, they should find some good occasion for renewing the privileges which they had lost under the preceding reigns.

But the Princess Sophia, sister to the Czar, discontented at seeing that her brother, by the mother's side, *Iwan*, was excluded from the government in favor of only her half-brother, Peter, managed so artfully as to gain the affection of the *Strelitzes*, and to excite a revolt, in which the Boyars, who had given the exclusion to *Iwan*, were massacred. This Prince was then declared Czar, conjointly with his brother, and even the Princess Sophia appointed co-regent, insomuch that her name was put along with that of her brothers in all public acts, and even upon the coin: and, indeed, properly speaking, it was this Princess that reigned during the six years that Peter I. possessed the throne conjointly with his brother.

It may be seen in the history of this Emperor, how he delivered himself from this state of pupilage, and with what despotism he reigned for his whole lifetime over the empire of Russia.

Catherine having succeeded to him, the Prince Menzikoff maintained himself in the absolute power which he had got into his hands. And during the three years that Peter II. bore the title of Emperor, it was still Menzikoff in the beginning, and after his exile, the Princes Dolgoroucki, that reigned. Yet if Peter II. had lived longer, the higher nobility would undoubtedly have by little and little arrived at regaining their ancient prerogatives. Just upon the death of Peter II. they imagined the moment was come for them to deliver themselves from slavery

slavery; but their design did not succeed, as has been shewn in my Memoirs of the reign of the Empress Anne; and I much doubt whether this empire, or rather the higher nobility, will ever atchieve their liberty. The lesser nobility, who are extremely numerous in Russia, will constantly oppose great obstacles to it, being more afraid of the tyranny of a number of the great, than of the power of a single sovereign.

Laws.

Until the time of the Czar Iwan Basilowitz II. who reigned from the year 1533 to 1584, there were no other laws in Russia than the will and pleasure of the Despot. This Prince caused to be formed a code of laws, employing for the basis of them, precedents and ancient customs. This book was distributed to the judges, and remained in manuscript until the reign of Alexis Michaelowitz, who had it printed. Under the reign of Peter I. these laws have been amplified and amended. The ancient book, however, continues to serve for the principal foundation of judgments and decrees in trials at law.

Genius of
the Russian
nation in
general.

To conclude these Memoirs, I shall add a few words on the genius of the nation in general. Some writers have advanced, that before the reign of Peter I. the Russians, collectively and separately considered, were all perfectly stupid and mere brutes; but this is entirely false, as the contrary may easily be proved.

Those who have formed to themselves this idea, need but read the Russian history of the seventeenth century; in the course of which, the ambition of Godunow, and the cabals of the Poles, had divided the nation into several factions, in a manner that brought it to the brink of ruin. The Swedes were masters of Novogorod, and the Poles of the capital, Moscow itself. Yet, notwithstanding such great disasters, the Russians at length prevailed so far, by
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the dexterity of their management, as to recover themselves from the yoke imposed on them by two such powerful enemies as Sweden and Poland at that time were. In less than fifty years they reconquered all the provinces which had been taken from them in the time of their domestic troubles; and this they effected without any foreign minister or general to conduct their affairs. A just reflexion on these events, will readily suggest the justice of owning, that undertakings of such importance could not be projected or executed by stupid people.

The Russians, in general, do not want wit or natural good sense. The concern and attention of Peter I. for the civilization of his country never extended to the citizens and peasants; yet, on any one's having the curiosity to talk to those of this condition, he will find, that in general they have all the needful common sense and judgment; that is to say, in those things that have no concern with the prejudices of their childhood or education, in points relative to their country and religion; that they have a readiness of capacity for comprehending whatever is proposed to them; that they, with great quickness, discover the necessary expedients for arriving at their ends; and that they seize, with abundance of discernment, any favorable occasions that present themselves. In short, there is full room for being persuaded, that a Russian citizen or peasant, will, on all occasions, give proof of at least equal sagacity and shrewdness, to what is commonly to be met with among those of that class, in any other country of Europe.

But as there is no entering into satisfactory researches of that kind, without knowing the language of the country, which few strangers give themselves the trouble of learning, the want of that requisite has been one of the causes of the depreciating accounts given of the natives of that country; who,

who, on their part, have greatly contributed to fix such imputations, by the contempt which, on many occasions, they have shewn for foreigners, and for whatever had the air of a foreign fashion or custom : add to this, that the way of living, and manners of the Russians, in the beginning of this century, differed entirely from those of the other nations of Europe ; and that they were perfectly ignorant of all the rules of good-breeding, even of the laws of nations, and of those prerogatives of foreign ministers, which are established in the other courts of Europe.

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